Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-059
Monday
28 March 1994

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-059 *28 March 1994*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form. An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

ALBANIA

U.S. Decision To Lift Arms Embargo Hailed *[Tirana TV]* 1
Ministry Protests Shooting by Greek Border Unit *[Tirana TV]* 1
Former Prime Minister Sentenced to 14 Years *[Tirana TV]* 1

CZECH REPUBLIC

Commentary Provides More on Bacteria Scandal *[CESKY DENIK 24 Mar]* 2
Klaus on Speculation About Relocating RFE *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Mar]* 2
Foreigners' Entitlements in Republic Outlined *[LIDOVE NOVINY 24 Mar]* 3
Bohemia Communist Party Expells 5 Deputies *[Prague Radio]* 3

SLOVAKIA

Government Discusses Economy, Appoints Personnel *[PRAVDA 23 Mar]* 4
Defense Minister, Others Installed *[PRAVDA 23 Mar]* 4
Moravcik on Government Program Preparations *[Bratislava Radio]* 4
Czech Border, Other Issues Viewed *[Bratislava Radio]* 5
Deputy Prime Minister Snegnerova Interviewed *[Bratislava TV]* 6
Results of March Poll on Electoral Preferences *[SME 23 Mar]* 7
Meciar, Kovac Most Trusted *[SLOVENSKY DENNIK 24 Mar]* 7
HZDS Leaflets Brand Kovac as Foreign Agent *[SLOVENSKY DENNIK 24 Mar]* 8
Meciar Addresses HZDS, Kovacs Sends Greetings *[Bratislava Radio]* 8
HZDS Congress Stops Supporting President *[Prague Radio]* 8
Signed Contract Meets Indian Army Requirements *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 23 Mar]* 9
Schmognerova on World Bank Conditions for Loan *[NARODNA OBRODA 23 Mar]* 9
Privatization Inquiry Halts Property Transfers *[PRAVDA 23 Mar]* 9
Czech, Slovak Bank Officials Meet in Smolenice *[Prague Radio]* 10

HUNGARY

Boross Interviewed on Elections, Plans *[Budapest Radio]* 11
Official Views EU Membership Application *[NEPSZABADSAG 24 Mar]* 11
Survey Examines Voter Attitudes *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 Mar]* 12
Poll Assesses Parties' Economic Programs *[NEPSZABADSAG 25 Mar]* 14

POLAND

Kolodziejczyk's U.S. Visit, Accord With Perry *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 26-27 Mar]* 16
Kwasniewski on Coalition, Rosati Candidacy *[PAP]* 16
President's Spokesman, Parties Comment *[Warsaw Radio]* 16
Pawlak-Walesa 'Silent Accord' Implied *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 26-27 Mar]* 17
Joint Declaration With Ukraine on Cooperation *[Foreign Ministry Declaration 21 Mar]* 18
Ukrainian Foreign Minister Speech in Warsaw *[Foreign Ministry Handout 22 Mar]* 19

ROMANIA

Iliescu Pardons Communists, Ethnic Hungarians *[Bucharest Radio]* 24
Decree Lists 24 Persons Pardoned *[Bucharest Radio]* 24
Further on Visit by Turkey Demirel
Demirel on Ties, Balkan Issues *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 23 Mar]* 24
Joint News Conference Ends Visit *[Bucharest Radio]* 25
Further on News Conference *[Ankara TV]* 26
Editorial Warns of 'Damage' of Early Elections *[ROMANIA LIBERA 23 Mar]* 26
Commentary Criticizes Iliescu's 'Radical Change' *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 23 Mar]* 27

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Srpska Prime Minister Lukic Resigns *[TANJUG]* 29
Srpska Assembly Discusses Future of Government *[Belgrade Radio]* 29
Government Adopts Federation Constitution *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Silajdzic Comments on Agreement *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Izetbegovic Reelected Ruling Party President *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Says Territory Must Be Recaptured *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Addresses SDA Meeting *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Croat Assembly Considers Washington Agreements *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Bosnian Croats Approve Federation Constitution *[Zagreb TV]* 32
Bosnian, Croat Commanders Sign Agreement *[Sarajevo Radio]* 32
U.S. Envoy Meets With Izetbegovic *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
Izetbegovic, Mesic Comment on 28 Mar Talks *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
Izetbegovic Meets With Iranian Envoy *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Meets With Army Leaders *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Krajisnik Asserts Serb Right to Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 35
Warns Against Deployment of Turks *[TANJUG]* 35
Karadzic Threatens Counteroffensive *[TANJUG]* 35
Maglaj Croats Sever Ties With Serbs *[AFP]* 35
Serbs Reportedly Attack Tesanj Hospital *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Muslim Clashes With Serbs, Croats Continue *[TANJUG]* 36
Serbs Continue To Attack Bihac, Travnik, Olovo *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Serbs Stop U.S. Humanitarian Convoy to Sarajevo *[Sarajevo Radio]* 37
Serb Soldiers Refusing To Go to Front Lines *[Sarajevo Radio]* 37
UN Report Says Serbs Shelled Bugojno *[TANJUG]* 37
Serb Authorities Return Stolen UN Aid Trucks *[AFP]* 38
Posavina Serbs Attacked in Joint Offensive *[TANJUG]* 38
Muslim Forces Seize Serb Strongholds *[Sarajevo Radio]* 38
Unidentified Aircraft Bomb Serb Army Positions *[TANJUG]* 38
Muslims Launch Attacks on Serbs in Doboj *[TANJUG]* 39
Convention of Sarajevo Serbs Concludes *[Sarajevo Radio]* 39

CROATIA

Tudjman Ousts Manolic From Posts in HDZ *[VJESNIK 25 Mar]* 40
Manolic Says Tudjman Opposed to Accord *[Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT 26-27 Mar]* 40
Krajina President Holds Talks With Galbraith *[TANJUG]* 41
Stresses Right to Self-Determination *[Podgorica TV]* 41
Krajina To Raise Issue of 'State Terror' *[TANJUG]* 42

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Turkish Troops in B-H Could Cause 'Escalation' *[TANJUG]* 43
Commentary on Possible Deployment *[Belgrade TV]* 43
Jovanovic Assesses Talks With French Officials *[Belgrade TV]* 44
Kontic Elaborates on 1994 Economic Program *[Belgrade Radio]* 44

Montenegro

Zhirinovskiy Aide Reassures Serbs of Support *[Podgorica TV]* 45

Kosovo

TANJUG Reports on Rugova's U.S. Visit 45

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Autonomy Prospects *[MAGYAR NEMZET 24 Mar]* 46

U.S. Decision To Lift Arms Embargo Hailed

AU2603204894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] The Defense Ministry spokesman reports that the press organs and mass media have recently presented the news on the lifting of the U.S. embargo against Albania, which also applied to former communist countries.

The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Albania received official confirmation from the press secretary's office in the White House. In Presidential Act 94/18, dated 22 March 1994, U.S. President Bill Clinton states: In continuance of prerogatives granted to me from Part 503-A of the Law on Foreign Assistance dated 1961, with amendments, and from Part 3-A, Article 1, of the Law on Control of Export of Arms, I define that the supply with articles and defense services for the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Romania will strengthen the security of the United States and encourage world peace.

This decision by President Clinton is another expression of the successful development of relations between Albania and the United States and is a clear indication of the extension of close political, economic, and administrative relations, as well as those in the field of defense. This news has been welcomed by the military and all the Army staffs, as well as by the broad public of our people.

Ministry Protests Shooting by Greek Border Unit

AU2603210894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] Greek Embassy Secretary (Toulupas) was summoned on 26 March to the Foreign Ministry and was handed a note of protest regarding an event on 21 March 1994 in which a group of Albanians who had crossed the Albanian-Greek border were mistreated by the Greek border forces.

According to exact data, after pointing an automatic rifle at the chest of 21-year-old Albanian citizen Alfred Abaz Muco, a resident of Bubullime in Lushnje, a Greek soldier opened fire with no reason at all, causing his death.

The note stresses among other things that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania protests this ugly and tragic act, pointing out that such actions impair Albanian-Greek relations, create an unjustified situation of tension, and run counter to international norms and statements by the Greek authorities.

The note asks the Greek Government to give the necessary explanations about the circumstances of the event and take measures to condemn the culprits and prevent the repetition of such actions,which have occurred even in the past.

Former Prime Minister Sentenced to 14 Years

AU2603184094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] The trial of the defendants Fatos Nano, Sokrat Plaka, Robert Gjini, and Hasan Hallkja continued today. At the end of the summation the jury decided to declare defendant Fatos Nano guilty and sentence him to 14 years imprisonment; to declare defendant Sokrat Plaka guilty and sentence him to five years imprisonment; to declare defendant Robert Gjini guilty and sentence him to four years imprisonment; to declare defendant Hasan Hallkja guilty and sentence him to two years imprisonment.

The defendants also have the civil obligation to return to the Bank of Albania the amounts of money they are charged with taking.

After withdrawing for the decision, the judicial body set 30 March 1994 at 0900 as a sufficient time for the four defendants to prepare their final statements and defense.

Commentary Provides More on Bacteria Scandal

AU2503141294 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 24 Mar 94 p 3

[Commentary by Lubor Kohout: "From Baudys's Realm of Fantasy II"]

[Text] We recently reported that a bank of viral strains was destroyed on 25 February under extraordinary security measures on the order of Defense Minister Antonin Baudys. It had been stored in a building leased by the Army to the Klinlab limited company. Then, at the beginning of March, under similar conditions, Army experts destroyed yet another "common" batch of viral strains stored in the Military Research Institute in Techonin. The defense minister, Chief of the General Staff Nekvasil, and other military top brass have described the two banks as common batches that had nothing to do with the development of biological weapons. Although, according to the claims made by the gentlemen from the Defense Ministry and the General Staff, the two viral banks were stored safely and there was no risk of a leak or a potential threat to the population from the stored viruses, the subsequent conduct by the ministerial and military top brass is tantamount to the contrary.

The Stresovice bank of viruses was stored in a so-called nitrogen chamber. It is located in the second basement of the building belonging to the Klinlab company. A bank of tissue cultures was also deposited there alongside the "harmless and safely stored" viral bank. Tissue cultures are cellular lines intended for the reproduction of viruses in a living organism. The location in question was locked, and only a limited number of staff from the Central Military Health Institute had access to the keys. The viruses and the tissue cultures were stored in containers full of liquid nitrogen, which has to be topped up once a week. Last August, one of the containers—by coincidence, the one with the bank of tissue cultures—was left open. All of the nitrogen had evaporated and so the tissue cultures were destroyed. Of course, it takes more than a few minutes or hours for nitrogen to evaporate. According to the experts, it takes five to seven days for this. Throughout this entire period, however, no one went into the nitrogen chamber, or, if someone did, he did not secure the container, despite the fact that it would have been impossible to overlook the unfastened lid and the escaping vapors. So, the batches of tissue cultures were destroyed. By the way, they were the largest in the Czech Republic, and their procreation took 30 years, which is another matter.

An investigation was initiated and conducted by the police in Prague 6. The culprit was not found. There are more variations. These include an accident or oversight—relatively unlikely—and sabotage, which is more likely. In this event, another two possibilities can be taken into consideration: first, that the culprit or culprits intended to destroy what was actually destroyed—that is, the bank of tissue cultures. But why? Simply to make sure they do not exist? The second possibility is that this was a mistake and the other container with the viral bank should have been left open. In this case, dangerous viruses would have escaped into the surrounding environment, and not only the patients and staff in the Central Military Hospital would have been placed at direct risk. This could have been called, without exaggeration, a catastrophe. Understandably, there is also the possibility that someone wanted to remove, and perhaps even did remove, something from either of the banks. It is not difficult to guess for what purpose. One can only speculate about which country is supposed, for example, to have its source of drinking water infected. It just remains for me to add that, if the lid had stayed shut, it goes without saying that no one would have had any idea that some unknown person had been in the nitrogen chamber. It is impossible to say whether he had visited it for the first time. So, this was the situation with the, according to the defense minister, "safely stored harmless and common viruses that were not intended for use as biological weapons." During their news conference, the defense minister and his retinue declared that nothing had in fact happened and that biological weapons have never been developed or stored in our country. The two rapidly, and under extraordinary security measures, destroyed viral banks were, according to them, common batches. Of course, they did not say a word about what happened in Stresovice last August. It would probably be difficult for them to say that there is no risk and that there was not a risk. It would also be difficult for them to say that everything is in order in the Army and that biological weapons were never developed in it. It would be difficult for Deputy Minister Kalousek to talk nonsense and claim that the Army will save 50 million by transferring some of the activity carried out hitherto by the Central Military Health Institute to the Klinlab limited company. And so on and so on.

Klaus on Speculation About Relocating RFE

AU2803140094 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "ryc": "According to Klaus, the Deliberations About the RFE Moving Are Premature"]

[Text] Prague—Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus described on Wednesday [23 March] the deliberations on the conditions for moving the Free Europe Center (Radio Free Europe—RFE) from Munich to Prague as definitely premature because the U.S. party has not yet made its decision. Klaus said this before reporters in response to a RUDE PRAVO question on Wednesday. He added that the original promises that this matter "will be settled in October, December, February, and March are being constantly postponed." Klaus considers the transfer of the RFE from "a clearly government, state institution to another" an additional problem. Businessman Soros would "participate as a co-owner" in dealing with the latter problem. If this happened, the entire problem would move, according to the prime minister, to an entirely different level.

Foreigners' Entitlements in Republic Outlined

AU2503151994 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Marie Susterova: "Laws in the Czech Republic Are Tough on Foreigners"]

[Text] Close to 80 million foreigners headed for the Czech Republic in 1993. The majority of them came for a brief visit or as tourists. Although they can extend their stay to up to six months, the law does not permit them to work in the Czech Republic. It permits only foreigners who have long-term or permanent residence in the Czech Republic—for example, foreigners who have obtained the statute of refugee in the Czech Republic—to work.

Approximately 46,600 foreigners with long-term residence and 31,000 foreigners with permanent residence live in the Czech Republic. This is apparent from the Foreign Nationals Registration Office (CP) record of 31 December 1993. They are mainly Poles, Vietnamese, and Ukrainians; however, in the past two years, people from Germany, the United States, Greece, and Austria have also shown an interest in long-term residence in the Czech Republic. To what, then, do our laws entitle them? Mirka Polova, of the CP Secretariat, says that long-term residence for the purpose of employment, business, education, or medical treatment is permitted. The foreigner can make the arrangements for the permit in his own country or when he arrives in the Czech Republic. As opposed to our practices, a foreigner who travels to the West or the United States to work must expedite the necessary documents in his own country. The foreigner attaches to his application in the Czech Republic confirmation that he has accommodation and a work permit. Long-term residence is granted for 180 days and can be repeatedly extended as long as the foreigner is studying, conducting business, or working in the Czech Republic. According to the law, the state is not obliged to grant permanent residence even to a foreigner who has been living here continually for a long time. According to M. Polova, this is a shortcoming that should be resolved in the future. The previous law was more charitable to foreigners. After 10 years of continuous long-term residence in the Czech Republic, it entitled them to apply for Czech citizenship. These foreigners pay for health care in the Czech Republic and they have no claim to social support from the state.

Permanent residence is granted to foreigners in order to unite families and, quite exceptionally, for humanitarian or foreign policy reasons, M. Polova explained to LIDOVE NOVINY. Foreigners with authorized permanent residence have, in essence, the same rights as Czech citizens. However, as opposed to them, they cannot vote, apply for property to be returned in restitution, or take part in coupon privatization. Nevertheless, they do have a right, for example, to unemployment benefit. After five years of permanent residence, they can obtain Czech citizenship. The resettled Czechs from Chernobyl, for example, are in this category.

We will publish information later about the foreigners who apply for asylum in the Czech Republic.

Bohemia Communist Party Expells 5 Deputies

LD2603144494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] At its session in Prague today, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia [KSCM] expelled five deputies from the Left Bloc. They are: Jaroslav Ortman, chairman of the Left Bloc group and deputy chairman of the party Left Bloc, and members of the group Josef Hajek, Jaroslav Soural, Vlastislav Kuchar, and Zdenek Vorlicek. KSCM Chairman Miroslav Grebenicek said that the aforementioned deputies had practically departed from the Communist Party by initiating the emergence of the new party, the Left Bloc.

Government Discusses Economy, Appoints Personnel

AU2603182694 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Antonia Vymazalova: "Revision in a Week; The Government Discussed Filling Posts of State Secretaries"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Yesterday the Slovak Government held its third meeting with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik in the chair. [passage omitted]

The government discussed and approved a draft amendment to the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] law on the organization of ministries and other central bodies of state administration of the Slovak Republic. As Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Simko told a news conference after the government meeting, the law addresses the issue of ending the provisional arrangement and legal vacuum that arose after the establishment of the independent Slovak Republic. The government will submit the draft amendment to the current meeting of parliament. Under the amendment, the government can determine in justified cases that two state secretaries will operate at a ministry. The minister will determine in which order they will stand in for him. The Government Office of the Slovak Republic is being deleted from the system of other central bodies of state administration [under the amendment] because it will only fulfill tasks for the government's needs. The Labor Safety Office of the Slovak Republic, on the other hand, is being added to the central bodies of state administration. The government yesterday appointed Jan Filko, LL.D., to head the Government Office. Until now, Filko has been deputy chairman of the Slovak Government's Legislative Council. [passage omitted]

The government took note of a report on basic trends in the development of the national economy of the Slovak Republic in 1993 and their forecast for the first half of 1994. The report notes that state budget expenditures went up as a result of the establishment of the new state and in connection with safeguarding its operation. The higher expenditures have been reflected in an increase of the budget deficit to 23 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] [in 1993]. It is expected that, in the first half of 1994, a trend of recovery will start making itself felt in the material-production branches. The volume of gross domestic product in steady prices is therefore expected to drop by only 0.6 percent. The rate of unemployment will increase to 16.5 percent, which means 420,000 registered unemployed. The rate of inflation will reach 17.4 percent, and average monthly wages will go up to Sk5,700, which would be a 15.2-percent increase over the first half of 1993 but a 1.9-percent decline in real terms. [passage omitted]

Yesterday the government appointed Pavol Nunuk, LL.D., to the post of chief border commissioner of the Slovak Republic and Colonel Miroslav Hyres, LL.D., and Colonel Mikulas Salak, LL.D., to the posts of deputy chief border commissioners of the Slovak Republic. Furthermore, it approved the following proposals for the appointment as state secretaries: Ministry of Justice—Sergej Kohut, LL.D.; Ministry of Culture—Marina Jurickova, M.A.; Ministry of Environment—Lubomira Zimanova, LL.D.; Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property—Gabriel Palacka, doctor of natural sciences; and Ministry of Agriculture—Engineer Stefan Palacka. It also approved proposals for the appointment of heads of ministerial offices: Ministry of Defense—Colonel of the General Staff Engineer Rudolf Zidek; Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Public Works—Engineer Peter Klucka; Ministry of Economy—Engineer Jaroslav Kubecka; Ministry of Environment—Engineer Magdalena Vodzinska; and Ministry of Agriculture—Engineer Jan Straka. The government approved the proposal to appoint Marian Jusko vice governor of the Slovak National Bank. It will submit this proposal to the NRSR chairman for further constitutional discussion.

Yesterday's news conference was moderated by Lubomir Lintner, who has been newly appointed as director of the Slovak Government Office's Press and Information Department.

Defense Minister, Others Installed

AU2603182494 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Improving the Quality of the Army's Work"]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik installed new Defense Minister Pavol Kanis in his post yesterday at a meeting with Defense Ministry military and civilian personnel. Major General Andrej Sabol was appointed Defense Ministry state secretary and Colonel Rudolf Zidek was appointed head of the Defense Ministry Office. In his speech, the prime minister emphasized that the Slovak Republic requires high-quality and advanced Army and patriotic soldiers, who will fulfill their tasks regardless of which political grouping is in power. In expressing his appreciation, Minister Kanis said, among other things, that, in the coming weeks, it will be necessary to prepare a thorough analysis of the Slovak Army's first year. It is essential to improve the style and method of managerial work at the Defense Ministry and the Slovak Army Command "because the current system in many ways still resembles the old bipolar system," emphasized Kanis.

Moravcik on Government Program Preparations

LD2603190494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Today is not a rest day for the new Slovak Government. Members of the Cabinet have been meeting in expert groups to prepare their programmatic statement. Our correspondent Michal Tvarozek asked Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik which were the

most important areas, especially in the economy, that the government wants to accelerate.

[Begin recording] [Moravcik] The most fundamental problem is putting together the economic program. The largest group of experts is working precisely on this program. We will probably have to revise some measures proposed by the previous government in preparing the budget. We will have to revise these measures to make them more realistic. We will have to do everything possible to reach agreement with the international institutions, particularly the IMF and the World Bank.

In other areas, the most complicated situation has arisen in health and education. [passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] Presumably the first version of the government's program will serve also as a consultative document for, let us say, employers, trade unions, all those who have a say as far as the government's statement is concerned.

[Moravcik] Certainly we have to do this. We have to respect the general agreement. The general agreement is for us a very important document, and we would like to have observations of all involved parties when working on the first version of the statement.

[Tvarozek] In one hour, you are going to attend the extraordinary session of the government. It is possible that the agenda will center precisely on the conclusions reached by these expert groups.

[Moravcik] This session should not deal with specific problems. We will discuss where we stand, what we ought to do next in terms of next week's work, and we will clarify which are the main problems that have arisen when working on these materials.

[Tvarozek] Let us assume that the National Council will not agree with your policy statement. What will happen if it is not approved?

[Moravcik] I hope it will be approved. [end recording]

Czech Border, Other Issues Viewed

LD2503232994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Radiozurnal editor Michal Tvarozek; place and date not given; from the "Ten Minutes with the Prime Minister" program—recorded]

[Text] [Tvarozek] At the beginning of this week, you were in Prague, where you met Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus for unofficial talks. There are certain signs from which one can assume that both the prime minister and the Czech Government are still a bit restrained in their contacts with the new Slovak Government. Do you think the reason for this might be that they are trying to keep a back door open in case Vladimir Meciar returns?

[Moravcik] I was taking part in the European Banking Forum and used this opportunity to meet Prime Minister Klaus, whom I know very well from my previous activity. Our talks can be characterized, mainly on the part of Vaclav Klaus, as a kind of finding out how we [the Slovak Government] think and what this government intends to do in the short period of six months. I think we managed to agree that, in this period of six months, there is enough space to intensify our mutual contacts and that we are confident we are able to solve some still unresolved problems.

[Tvarozek] Do you already have any idea how to keep contacts and resolve some of the pressing issues?

[Moravcik] I am not going to talk about specific actions, specific proposals, and measures because all of this is in the stage of intensive preparations. I do not wish to jump the gun now and generate some media hullabaloo.

[Tvarozek] Despite this, I would like to touch on one specific issue, which is the issue of the common border. It has not been finalized yet, and some points of contention exist. Are you going to change anything in the concept of possible mutual compensation for territories, or have some other options been prepared in this respect?

[Moravcik] We are prepared to follow the results achieved at the interior minister level of the two countries. I think a certain basis offering solutions does actually exist here. At the same time, we must make sure, in a very vigorous way, that complete compensation for the territories is implemented. Quite simply, I think it is possible to discuss this issue or this problem so that the interests of our two republics are taken into consideration to the maximum possible, or full extent.

[Tvarozek] It is natural that each prime minister or minister brings with him to his new office a circle of his colleagues on whom he can rely. But is there a limit to this? Some ministries are axing people who do not actually hold top jobs. The same can be said about some district councils. Prime Minister, is there not a chance that fears of uncertainty or of some kind of mutual settling of accounts might arise?

[Moravcik] It would be very counterproductive to talk about a settling of accounts. I definitely oppose this kind of practice. I think we should follow the policy aimed at adopting a professional and expert approach. We agreed on this, we agreed on this in the government and during the coalition talks. Thus, we have a certain policy, and we wish to steadfastly stick to it.

[Tvarozek] In this respect, would it not be a solution if the state secretaries were appointed by the parliament so that their appointments would not be the outcome of coalition talks, but that, as experts, they would form a permanent structure in the ministries and so on?

[Moravcik] The state secretaries position must not be regarded as a constant in our constitutional system. They

are a composite part of the executive power, and, in fact, they deputize for the minister to a considerable extent. Thus, from this viewpoint, if they were elected by the parliament, this would not be a composite part of the whole constitutional system.

[Tvarozek] As early as at the first government meeting, you abolished the decision of the former government and dismissed the regional job center commissioners. What were the reasons that compelled you to do this?

[Moravcik] These institutions were not legally justified, and, because we have put off the territorial division of the state until after the elections, they were not justified in material terms, either.

[Tvarozek] Is this not a political issue then?

[Moravcik] There is a political aspect to this issue because maintaining these offices would have contradicted Slovakia's interests.

[Tvarozek] The so-called screening law has been a much discussed issue of late. Although this law is in force, it is not observed everywhere and, from time to time, as happened recently, contradictory findings surface. Prime Minister, do you have any idea what course of action you are going to take? Are you going to observe it and demand that it is strictly adhered to, or are you going to table an amendment to this law?

[Moravcik] The screening law is a part of our legal system. This means that the government must respect it. That is one thing. At the present time, a proposal as to whether this law conforms to our Constitution and to our international undertakings has been lodged at the Constitutional Court. We will wait and see what the Constitutional Court verdict is, and then we might make a decision.

[Tvarozek] It is reported that teachers are preparing protest actions for 27 March because this is Teachers' Day. Other professional associations voiced their dissatisfaction with social conditions, too. Are you preparing any measures of fundamental importance that would prevent such high escalation of dissatisfaction?

[Moravcik] Unfortunately, the state budget does not allow for fundamental measures that would completely eliminate the problem that exists in this ministry or in this sphere. But we definitely want to do something. We have already started discussing this issue with the relevant trade unions.

[Tvarozek] The budget can be replenished, above all, by the results of our work or by exports. What is being prepared in this respect? It is precisely at this time, when Defense Minister Pavol Kanis and some specialists are visiting Israel. Do you expect that developments of this kind will result in closer contacts with foreign partners?

[Moravcik] We are currently defining our policies or, in other words, the policy statement of the government. It should be a very specific and matter-of-fact document. Written in it will be the basic measures we want to implement. We will make use of our diplomacy and our foreign contacts to gain aid from abroad.

[Tvarozek] The government has been in office for one week now. How do you assess its work, and do you have any comments on or objections to the work of any ministries or ministers?

[Moravcik] It is a very short time for me to pass any judgment, but, on the basis of the information I have so far, I can unequivocally say that there is a very strong will and enough enthusiasm to enable us to solve all of the problems we have set ourselves to solve.

[Tvarozek] The government really consists of three elements, so to speak. The degree of consistency of these three elements will most probably depend on the goals. If we take those six months, for example, is the goal identical?

[Moravcik] We are trying to define this identical goal, but we do not want it to be limited by six months. We said to ourselves that we must draft a concept for long-term development and decide which steps we have to take in order to implement this long-term concept over the six months because we are expecting this political grouping to retain an important influence after the elections, as well.

[Tvarozek] Do you mean an important influence in the government, in parliament, or an important influence as a strong opposition group?

[Moravcik] Well, our aim is to win a majority.

Deputy Prime Minister Snegnerova Interviewed

LD2603112494 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2115 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Following today's [25 March] meeting of the Cabinet members nominated by the Party of the Democratic Left with journalists, we interviewed Brigita Snegnerova, the deputy prime minister responsible for the economy, who has returned from a study trip to the United States of America.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Deputy Prime Minister, which problems in Slovakia's economy do you regard as being a priority at the present time?

[Snegnerova] There are very many of them, and listing them would probably take some time. We would like to focus to a considerable extent on an accelerated continuation of the process in the privatization sphere.

We would like to aim in particular at generating, through privatization, private companies capable of creating job opportunities for people and producing goods that could compete abroad. Thus, they would help us solve the situation in our foreign trade and in improving the foreign trade balance. This is linked to another objective of the government's economic policy, which is that much

stronger emphasis will be placed on trade policies, in particular on export-promoting policies.

[Correspondent] Recently, you had a meeting with the World Bank executive director and IMF representatives, and you visited the United States Department of the Treasury and other important institutions. Have these meetings yielded anything positive for Slovakia?

[Snegnerova] I would like to sum up very briefly the conclusions of these meetings. Support for the new Slovak Government was voiced at all of the meetings. They voiced confidence that the new Slovak Government would speed up the transformation of Slovak society, the democratization of Slovak society, and that it would speed up the economic transformation.

We agreed with the IMF that, as early as before the final drafting of the economic and political section of the government statement, we would hold several rounds of talks with Mr. Zervudakis, a member of the staff responsible for Slovakia. These talks should make sure that the policy the government will submit to the parliament is acceptable to both sides. This step is significant because the IMF's positive approach to the government economic policy could mean the speeding up of the talks on the standby loan. As you know, the significance of this loan does not lie only in boosting our currency funds; it amounts, above all, to the expression of support for the economic policy of the government, and, at the same time, is an expression of support for the Slovak economy. It will be an important signal for foreign investors, be they institutions or strategic investors. Our efforts will be aimed at attracting these investors. Along with the approval of a standby loan or, rather, when we start drawing this loan, we will get the second (?part of the stand-by) loan. This has already been approved, but there is a condition attached to the drawing of the second stage.

[Correspondent] When, in your view, could Slovakia get the standby loan?

[Snegnerova] Provided that talks proceed well, it could be within the next few months. [end recording]

Results of March Poll on Electoral Preferences

AU2503144494 Bratislava SME in Slovak 23 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "r": "The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Would Be Voted for by 26.4 Percent; 10.8 Percent Would Not Go to the Polls at All"]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovak Radio's Methodological Research Department carried out a public opinion survey from 11 to 16 March, in which 1,025 respondents over age 18 were asked the following question: If new parliamentary elections were to be held this week, for which party or movement would you opt? The results can be gleaned from the table below:

Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	26.4%
Party of the Democratic Left	11.0%
Christian Democratic Movement	6.1%
Association of Workers of Slovakia	4.8%
Green Party	3.6%
Coexistence	3.4%
Democratic Party	3.3%
Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	2.2%
Slovak National Party	2.1%
Social Democratic Party	2.0%
Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen	1.5%
Christian Social Union	1.4%
National Democratic Party	1.3%
Alliance of Democrats of Slovakia	1.2%
Communist Party	1.1%
Farmers' Movement	0.8%
Hungarian Civic Party	0.6%
Agrarian Party of Slovakia	0.4%
Other parties, movements	1.0%
Do not know	9.6%
Do not want to reply	5.5%
Would not participate in elections	10.8%

Meciar, Kovac Most Trusted

AU2503144594 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 24 Mar 94 p 1

[TA SR report: "No Longer Relevant...."]

[Text] In a public opinion poll conducted by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic in March, 1,273 citizens were asked to reply to the question: "Which politician active in the Slovak Republic enjoys your trust at present?" The replies acquired do not yet reflect the situation that arose after the 27th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic with its consequences [passage of the vote of no-confidence in Vladimir Meciar's government and the appointment of a new government]. Compared with the poll carried out in early February, there was a visible increase in trust in President Michal Kovac and a reduction in the proportion of citizens who do not trust any politician.

Trust in Representatives of Political Life in Slovakia as Expressed by Citizens (in percent)

	Jan	Feb	Mar
Vladimir Meciar	23	22	25
Michal Kovac	23	20	25
Peter Weiss	12	15	16
Ivan Gasparovic	9	8	7
Jan Carnogursky	5	5	6
Jozef Moravcik	5	5	5
Do not trust any politician	41	43	31

HZDS Leaflets Brand Kovac as Foreign Agent

AU2503142994

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 24 March on page 1 carries a 400-word commentary by Alena Gottweisova entitled "The Fifth Rider." The commentary takes issue with leaflets being distributed in Slovakia by "youngsters who identify with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]" and who "demand from the recipients of the leaflets the promise that they will vote for Vladimir Meciar." According to Gottweisova, these leaflets portray "a smiling gentleman with a dollar sign on his pocket making a telephone call to Prague, Budapest, and Tel Aviv and reporting that 'the putsch against the Slovak nation and state has come off' and that they can thus come to ransack Slovakia without having to fear resistance." To "dispel doubts about the identity of this gentleman who is carrying out orders from abroad," Gottweisova continues, "he finally introduces himself as 'your own Michal Kovac, alias the president.'" In her commentary, Gottweisova deplores the "wrath" of the leaflets' authors as well as their "racist connotation." She describes as "absurd" both the view of President Kovac as an enemy of Slovakia and the idea that "Vladimir Meciar's dismissal had been organized in Prague, Budapest, and Tel Aviv with the intention of destroying Slovakia."

Meciar Addresses HZDS, Kovacs Sends Greetings

LD2603162194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Delegates to the fourth nationwide assembly of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] are gathered in the district office in Presov today. Our correspondents Anna Samelova and Ivan Samel report from Presov:

[Samel] Good morning to you from Presov. About 200 citizens have been waiting for the delegates to the congress since this morning. The movement's chairman, Vladimir Meciar, joined them shortly before 1000 and addressed the gathering.

[Samelova] In his brief address, Vladimir Meciar recalled that, with the voters' support, the HZDS had resolved the issue of the Slovak Republic's statehood. Now, it is to resolve the issue of the peace and prosperity of the state. Vladimir Meciar thinks it would be sensible to complete what was begun in the referendum or, in other words, the issue of early elections. That is why one of the main points of the assembly's deliberations will be to draft the movement's policy for the election period 1994-98. The implementation of this policy will begin next Monday. We lost a major battle in the parliament, Vladimir Meciar went on to say, but we will win the war. The HZDS chairman then handed the floor to Ivan Gasparovic [Slovak parliament speaker], who, in essence, reiterated what Vladimir Meciar had said.

[Samel] Following the gala opening of the assembly and addresses by invited political parties, the agenda of the assembly has begun.

Despite the fact that he has not been invited to the assembly, the president of the Republic, who is still an HZDS member, has at least sent a greetings message to the congress. It says that the HZDS is a substantial political force in Slovakia, whose position in the center of the political spectrum attracts hundreds of thousands of citizens with most varied opinions.

I quote from the letter: It would not be correct if I were to conceal the tension between the HZDS chairman and the president, which gradually grew into open attacks against the president of the Slovak Republic. Even though this tension does exist, its nature is not personal. However, as a social and political conflict, it had a negative impact on the developments in our country as a whole. As president, I had to take a position on this. I expressed my position in the National Council of the Slovak Republic. At the same time, I urged all political entities to support the policy of national, political, and civic reconciliation. It is our duty to seek and choose decisions and solutions that will satisfy not only us but, first and foremost, our fellow citizens.

In the conclusion of his letter, Michal Kovac wished the congress peaceful proceedings and expressed the hope that the congress would be a continuation of the best policies that yielded undeniable success for the HZDS over the past three years.

[Samelova] According to the information we have, no one has yet read the contents of the letter from the president to the assembly delegates. [passage omitted]

HZDS Congress Stops Supporting President

LD2703195494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Excerpt] The participants in the fourth congress of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in Presov have sent an open letter to Slovak President Michal Kovac. More from Martin Dorazin:

[Dorazin] We ask you to reassess your membership in the HZDS, states the letter addressed to Michal Kovac. Among other things, the letter from the congress of the strongest Slovak opposition party recalls that the current president used to be a leading representative of the HZDS, which nominated him to the Federal Assembly, later on as the assembly's chairman and then as president of the Slovak Republic.

The congress regrets having come to the conclusion that Michal Kovac has interrupted the continuity of the HZDS program. The HZDS can no longer support Kovac in the office of president of the Republic because of the way he carries out his presidential duties, because of the attempt to cause the HZDS's disintegration, and because of an unjustifiable attitude toward the government that founded the state, and for other reasons. This is all in the open letter. [passage omitted]

Signed Contract Meets Indian Army Requirements

AU2603182194 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Mar 94 p 4

[CTK report: "A Contract With India"]

[Text] Kosice—The director of the East Slovak Engineering Works [VSS], I. Dufinec, has signed a memorandum with the Indian BEML company on cooperation in commencing special production for the requirements of the Indian Army and for joint commercial purposes in specific territories. This involves the type-AV 15 military tow trucks that the VSS is assembling on Tatra undercarriages. A similar contract with a partner in the United Arab Emirates should be signed this year, and negotiations are under way with Syria, among other countries.

Schmognerova on World Bank Conditions for Loan

AU2603182294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Mar 94 pp 1, 4

[TA SR report: "We Must Make Up for What We Have Missed; Brigita Schmognerova in the World Bank"]

[Text] Washington—Slovakia will seek to obtain a World Bank loan for the structural reform of the entrepreneurial and financial sector (EFSAL). The condition for obtaining this loan is a thorough analysis of the situation in the two sectors, but also [the realization of] a large number of measures that should have been implemented by the previous governments several years ago, Deputy Prime Minister Brigita Schmognerova told the TA SR correspondent following her talks with Wilfried Thalwitz, executive director of the World Bank for Europe, and Kemal Dervis, director of the World Bank's European Department.

According to her words, even as early as during the start of preparations for privatization under the federation, clear criteria should have been laid down for the state's participation in the entrepreneurial sphere. The state's participation, through the medium of the National Property Fund, in the entrepreneurial sphere remains very high today, and its interference in the management of enterprises is excessive and extremely harmful. It is therefore necessary to determine very specifically under which conditions and until when the state will maintain its ownership stake in the entrepreneurial sphere.

Furthermore, the government must prepare, as soon as possible, a list of enterprises that it wants to privatize by the end of the year. It considers the previous government's commitment to privatize another one-fifth of enterprises to be the minimum.

Brigita Schmognerova said that it will also be necessary to start applying the law on bankruptcy and settlement with a clear idea about the consequences of its application.

Other measures necessary to obtain the loan include better-quality information about the entrepreneurial sphere and, in particular, reliable data for the past two years.

Privatization Inquiry Halts Property Transfers

AU2603181994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 94 p 1

[TA SR report: "Transfers Frozen"]

[Text] Bratislava—Rudolf Filkus, minister of finance of the Slovak Republic, has temporarily frozen transfers of National Property Fund securities in the Securities Center [SCP]. As Dusan Koledzaj, director of the Slovak Finance Ministry's Capital Market Department, informed TA SR yesterday, this temporary measure went into effect as of 18 March 1994. The minister had been asked to take this step by Milan Janicina, minister for the administration and privatization of national property, on the basis of a preliminary inquiry into privatization projects approved by the previous government of Vladimir Meciar after 15 February, until the ministry's analysis is wound up.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 24 March on page 2 carries a 250-word TA SR report entitled "Inquiry Into Privatization." The report quotes Milan Janicina, minister for the administration and privatization of national property, as having told a news conference on 23 March that Prime Minister Meciar's government "approved approximately 45 privatization projects after 15 February, of which an estimated third do not conform to existing legislation." Janicina also said that those privatization projects that are "in conformity with the law and morality" will be respected.]

Czech, Slovak Bank Officials Meet in Smolenice

LD2503193194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Banking councils of the National Bank of Slovakia and the Czech National Bank met in Smolenice today. Finance ministers of both countries, Rudolf Filkus and Ivan Kocarnik, were present at the meeting. Martin Dorazin, Czech Radio special correspondent in Bratislava has more details:

[Dorazin] The most important items on the meeting's agenda were the payments agreement between the Czech Republic and Slovakia and the division of assets and liabilities of the former Czechoslovak State Bank. [passage omitted]

Slovak Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus stressed that the old bloc must be abolished in a way that will not have an impact on the state budget. He added that both republics naturally are continuing to use the clearing method.

The governors of the two national banks voiced satisfaction with the fact that the problem of the division of assets and liabilities of the former Czechoslovak State Bank is being depoliticized.

Josef Tosovsky, governor of the Czech National Bank, sees progress in the fact that the division of assets and liabilities will continue to be worked on by accountants. Rudolf Filkus pointed out that the economic dimension is a priority in this case. Josef Tosovsky described as the greatest progress in the talks the fact that the Slovak bank did not cast doubt on the financial statement of the Czechoslovak State Bank, which means that it also does not cast doubt on the opening assets and liabilities statement of the national banks. The division of gold and the question of currency taken out of circulation remains an unresolved problem.

Minister Kocarnik expressed his surprise over the fact that Slovakia refuses to recognize certificates for food products issued by Czech standardization authorities, despite the fact that these are recognized by Germany and Hungary, for example. In the minister's view, however, this is a war between bureaucrats. I want to believe that ministers and governments will not succumb to these bureacrats, Ivan Kocarnik said.

Boross Interviewed on Elections, Plans

LD2603164894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Peter Boross by correspondent Laszlo Rapcsanyi; place and date not given; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The radio today carried an interview with Prime Minister Peter Boross. The reporter was Laszlo Rapcsanyi. From the topics of the one-hour interview, first we quote Peter Boross talking about the advance of the left wing.

[Boross] "It is indisputable that the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] is going to achieve a more favorable result than at the elections four years ago. It is also doubtless, I note—not so much, and not first and foremost on the level of leadership but in the ranks of the returning members—there will be some shift to the left. Despite this, I am not afraid of a rollback. Essentally, the Hungarian parliament today consists of sane politicians. No such rollback can take place for this very reason."

[Announcer] After this the prime minster talked about the role of the trade unions and the HSP, considering the chances for the near future.

[Boross] "The trade unions have gained significant ground within the HSP. This threatens the HSP's functioning as a political party. I have to say that I can see a dual phenomenon here: If by any chance the HSP gets a government role then an excessive trade union force would make the program, hallmarked by the name of Laszlo Bekesi, simply inexecutable."

[Announcer] Since there are only six weeks until the elections there was of course mention of the chances of the liberal parties.

[Boross] "I consider it natural that the liberal parties are decreasing and slowly crumbling away. Some time later they will be represented in Hungarian political life in a proportion which is typical of most countries. I think this election contest is really between the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the HSP. The erosion of the two party formations in the range between them is unavoidable."

[Announcer] What can be expected generally after the election results are known? Who can form a coalition with whom? According to Peter Boross:

[Boross] "Every party has to decide what future a coalition relationship can have, from the viewpoint of its future, even if it seems to be somehow tactical or—under various pressures—expedient to form a coalition with certain parties. Are they not too distant from one another? If so, they can set up a coalition at a roundtable, but they cannot make the coalition work."

[Announcer] Can a coalition which was set up under pressure be viable?

[Boross] "There is the possibility that the next elections will not be held in four years' time, if the parliamentary power relations given by the election results make it impossible to create a sustainable majority. It is typical that there was a prediction which estimated the Hungarian political balance as 30 percent so-called Christian conservatives, 30 percent liberals, and 30 percent socialists. Well, those who are familiar with the participants of Hungarian politics know that if this were to come about, it would result in a state of ungovernability."

[Announcer] The opposition accuses the government of pursuing a propaganda which only emphasises the successes. The prime minister's opinion about this:

[Boross] "We have to show that we have achieved results in the difficult situation the country is facing and under the extremely testing circumstances of the transformation. The other side should come up with concrete proof about specific issues—not criticize everything with general phrases. The leftist part of the parliament knows and the opposition press knows that the MDF or the government—I always need to mention them together—fails to mention the fact that it has preserved the value of savings with an appropriate interest policy, something which has not been done in any of the neighboring countries. It has indeed preserved this."

[Announcer] At the end of the interview Prime Minister Peter Boross talked about his plans.

[Boross] "I would like to work as prime minister for another four years. This half year was not enough. I believe I know what should be done in the next four years and I feel I have enough strength for the implementation of my ideas."

Official Views EU Membership Application

AU2603171894 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Janos Martonyi by Gabor Szego; place and date not given: "European Union: At the Same Time, But Not Together"]

[Text] On the basis of the Hungarian Government's decision and parliament's approval, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky will present the Hungarian Republic's official application for membership of the European Union [EU] to Theodhoros Pangalos, current chairman of the EU Council, in Athens on 1 April.

As was announced by Janos Martonyi in Warsaw on 22 March, the request will be submitted in coordination with Poland. NEPSZABADSAG interviewed Martonyi on the background of this decision, among other things.

[Szego] In the past the Hungarian wish has been expressed many times, namely that Brussels should not treat the East Central European states requesting EU membership as a bloc or a group; rather, their readiness

for membership and the fulfillment of the requirements should be assessed. Considering this, it is rather unexpected that we are making this step together with Warsaw.

[Martonyi] I do not think that any major change has taken place or that the announcement in Warsaw was unexpected. From the very beginning, we indicated that Hungary would consult with the Visegrad countries on the issue of handing in the membership request. We had already had consultations with Warsaw in connection with other talks, and this also included consultations between the relevant ministers. As a result of all these, the decision was made that we would submit our membership request essentially at the same time.

[Szego] So not at the same time after all?

[Martonyi] Due to technical reasons, it will not happen exactly at the same time. Instead of the originally planned 31 March, 1 April seems to be a definite date, and the Polish Government's statement of intent will come a few days after this at the latest. It has not yet been decided when Foreign Minister Olechowski will find a suitable time for travelling to Athens. Minor issues like Easter Friday falling on 1 April might also influence this, therefore, it is quite possible that this event will only take place on the following week.

[Szego] Is the Warsaw government also past the phase of parliamentary approval?

[Martonyi] The situation is different in Poland, they do not need a legislative decision, only a simpler parliamentary procedure has to be completed. This is planned for 25 March, therefore, by the end of the month they will also have finished the preparations. The essence of this procedure is that, in the name of the government, the foreign minister informs Parliament of the decision on presenting the membership request, then the parliamentary group leaders have five minutes each to comment on this issue. However, there is no voting, the chairman of parliament sums up the speeches, and then the session is closed.

[Szego] Do we need to worry that, due to the heated debate that has developed in the European Union in connection with the membership of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] countries, this is not the best time for new applicants to appear? For example, Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes simply said the other day that there is a "complete crisis" in the Union.

[Martonyi] The current "mini crisis" has nothing to do with the presentation of the Hungarian request for membership, it is wise to separate these two issues. In addition to this, by the time the actual negotiations on membership begin—at the end of 1996 or in 1997 at the earliest—the European Union will have gone through many crisis periods. Therefore, this is an important step in the often mentioned long process of gaining membership that began in 1990: After handing in the request, we will be official candidates in a diplomatic, legal, and political sense.

Survey Examines Voter Attitudes

AU2603194794 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Mar 94 p 8

[Andras Kovacs article: "Whom Would You Not Elect?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] What are the chances of a campaign that is conducted against the competing parties in Hungary? We wanted to get an answer to this question on the basis of a survey of a 1,000-head sample representing the country's population over the age of 15 that was carried out by the Szonda Ipsos Public Opinion Research company in January 1994.

During the survey, the people questioned first had to say whether they find it acceptable for a person who is in one of the following nine groups to become a member of the next government and plays an important political role. The replies were as follows.

Group	Acceptable	Unacceptable
Younger than 35	76	24
Had a leading role in previous system	51	49
Moved back to Hungary from abroad	39	61
Parents were communist leaders	66	34
Is a member of a national minority	77	23
Is unfaithful to his marriage partner	63	37
Does not believe in God	79	21
Is of Jewish origin	83	17
Homosexual	34	64

The answers show that the vast majority of the Hungarian population has no objections against a young, national minority, atheist, or Jewish person playing a leading role in Hungarian politics. For about two-thirds of the voters, it is not an important factor making a political role impossible if someone is adulterous or if his parents were communist leaders. However, only half of those who replied considered leading positions in the previous regime compatible with a future governmental position, and the majority of the public clearly rejects those who have moved back from abroad or are homosexuals: Nearly two-thirds of the questioned people considered it unacceptable for them to have a serious political position.

Apart from those who oppose the political role of people returning from abroad, the social-demographic characteristics of people who reject the other groups are very similar. Elderly people, people with lower levels of education, people living in small villages, people with low incomes, and those who are inactive or dependent

are represented more than the average. People with lower schooling generally gave more negative answers than the average. The rejection of people under 35, those who are returning from abroad, who are adulterous, atheists, or homosexuals increases with the increase of age, and it is mainly village dwellers who reject those who deceive their partners, Jews, and homosexuals taking on a political role. It is worth looking at the answers in relation to the political orientation of the person replying (Table 2). Examining the left-wing, liberal, and conservative voters in groups—placing all those who selected a party in one of the groups—we can see that an important political role when the person is young, member of a national minority, of Jewish origin, adulterous, or homosexual is most acceptable to the liberal voters. The liberal voters mainly reject those who are returning from abroad or played a political role in the previous system, and most of them do not find the political role of homosexuals acceptable, although fewer of them reject this than people among the conservative voters.

Naturally, the largest proportion of left-wing voters find it acceptable for atheists, children of communist parents, and former functionaries to play an important political role, but a large majority of them do not reject the political role of national minority or Jewish people. However, it is interesting that more of them reject young people—on this issue, they are closer to the views of the conservative voters—and they particularly reject people returning from abroad. On this issue, the liberal and conservative voters are closer to each other, just as in the rejection of the future important role of former leaders.

The conservative voters are extremely opposed to homosexuals or former cadres taking on political roles, however, they are mainly in contrast with the majority of the whole population in the fact that their majority finds it unacceptable for children of communist parents to have an important role in the country's leadership. [passage omitted]

Table 2

Voters of Group	Liberal	Left-Wing	Conservative
Younger than 35	86	68	66
Had a leading role in previous system	46	70	31
Moved back to Hungary from abroad	40	25	44
Parents were communist leaders	69	79	46
Is member of a national minority	80	77	73
Is unfaithful to his marriage partner	69	64	51
Does not believe in God	82	87	64
Is of Jewish origin	84	83	75
Homosexual	46	36	24

It is also worth examining which of the various views belong together, which ones might form a group of opinions that expresses some kind of a common attitude. The statistical analysis distinguished three groups of opinions. The first group in which the views rejecting adulterous, atheist, Jewish, and homosexual people appear together is obviously characterized by a traditional and prejudiced attitude. The second group of opinions, which is dominated by the rejection of former functionaries and the children of communist parents, is characterized by an anti-communist attitude, while the third group of opinions, in which the rejection of people under the age of 35 and those returning from abroad are together, can be seen as a conservative attitude. [passage omitted]

The distribution of the replies indicates the dilemmas into which a "negative campaign" can sweep parties belonging to the various groups. According to the data, the relative majority of those who replied represent a liberal attitude at the moment, but it can also be seen that some one-fifth of the liberal, left-wing, and uncertain voters, mainly those of lower social status, can easily change their mind under the influence of a powerful negative campaign. It is not certain that this kind of campaign would, at the same time, strengthen the conservative parties, because many of their voters have a liberal attitude and a vehement negative campaign can make these people uncertain in their choice of party, as was seen after Istvan Csurka's [them member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum] actions in the summer of 1992.

It is also striking that the voters of left-wing and conservative parties are mainly divided by their attitude to the previous system, rather than by their relationship to the liberal and conservative attitudes. While 60 percent of the voters of liberal parties belong to the group characterized by a liberal attitude and 40 percent to the conservative attitude, the proportion in the case of the voters of left-wing and conservative parties is the opposite: Some 40 percent of them are characterized by liberal attitudes and 60 percent by conservative attitudes. Therefore, from this point of view, the profile of left-wing and conservative voting bases are similar to each other. [passage omitted]

In the course of our survey, we attempted to find out if there is a group in society that is consistently mistaken in its judgment on the distribution of opinions and is, as a result, more susceptible to the influence of campaign messages. We examined how many times the people surveyed were able to say what the majority view was on the nine questions they were asked, and how many times they were wrong.

On the basis of the social and demographic characteristics, the group that was completely unable to give an estimate can be best isolated from the rest: Many more people over the age of 60, with lower schooling, with income in the lowest 10 percent, who are religious, and many of whom said they did not wish to participate in the elections can be found in this group than the average. Accurate estimates were mainly given by people in Budapest, with highest incomes, and people in their 50's. These social groups have many Hungarian Socialist

Party [MSZP] supporters, therefore, the proportion of people giving accurate estimates was also higher than the average among the MSZP supporters.

However, there is not much difference in the accuracy of the estimates between the various groups of voters, although somewhat more of the opposition supporters were able to form an accurate opinion on the public view.

To sum up the results of the survey, we can say that the majority of Hungarian society definitely rejects the future political role of only homosexuals and people returning from abroad, and to a smaller extent, functionaries of the former regime, and the vast majority formed an accurate view of society's dominant views. It is unlikely that the other stereotypes of a possible negative campaign would have much influence. Therefore, people against whom these campaigns are directed do not risk much if they respond, thereby strengthening the consensus of the majority.

Nevertheless, there is a group in society that might also be vulnerable to a negative campaign. However, for the bigger parties, giving gestures to this group of people might be risky because this might alienate the rest of their voters. In addition to this, this group's willingness to vote is rather low, and a negative campaign is mainly suitable for changing the views of already committed voters, rather than for mobilizing people.

Poll Assesses Parties' Economic Programs

AU2603182394 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Mar 94 pp 1, 7

[Unattributed report: "Which Party Will Solve the Economic Problems?—Median-Poll on Party Programs"]

[Text] Every sober political force hopes that the election campaign will not get rough, and its main issue will be the competition between party programs. Therefore, it is important to know what the citizens think about the parties, whether they have a program and, if so, whether their program provides answers that are also regarded as important by the public.

At the beginning of the election campaign, 45 percent of citizens did not know that there were parties that had already formulated their programs for the upcoming elections; 3 percent thought that there were no such parties, and 3 percent thought that every party had a program.

Only 29 percent of those who do not want to vote think that some parties have already formulated their programs, and only 59 percent of those who will certainly go to vote think this. Those who think that at least a few parties are preparing for the elections with programs mainly think of parliamentary parties.

The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] held its program-formulating general meeting two weeks before this opinion poll. Only 20 percent of the people surveyed had heard about this meeting, and this also shows that the good position of the SZDSZ is due not so much to information, but to the fact that a considerable number of citizens have consistently regarded the SZDSZ (as well as the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]) as a program party since the 1990 elections.

It is also important to know the extent to which supporters of individual parties "follow their feelings" and the extent to which they evaluate the party program. We cannot give an exact answer to this question, but the way voters judge their own parties is also characteristic from this viewpoint.

Supporters of the SZDSZ, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] are higher the average in thinking that their party has an election program, while supporters of the MDF are more uncertain than the average. A considerable proportion of voters for the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] is made up of women older than 60, living in villages, and disinterested in politics; in their election decisions, religion plays a bigger role than the party programs. In this respect, the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] resembles the two government parties more than the opposition parties. Since shrinking to a third of the figures prevailing in December 1992, the Fidesz supporters are increasingly connected to a certain age group: Half of the present Fidesz supporters are younger than 30 and three-quarters are young than 40. Political disinterest can often be found among the younger generation, and many of them are only attracted to Fidesz for emotional reasons.

There is a broad consensus in the fact that politics should first of all solve the economic problems; however, many voters have no idea which party could best solve the problems facing the Hungarian economy. Many voters do not think that the party they want to vote for is capable of doing this. This shows the limited commitment of some of the Hungarian voters. These are facts that every party should face more deliberately during the election campaign.

About the same number of people expect economic improvement from the MSZP and the MDF as the number of people who would vote for these two parties, but we are not talking about exactly the same people. Some 4 percent more people than the actual supporters think that the SZDSZ could improve the economic situation. Almost the same applies to the FKGP. However, only a small percentage of their supporters think that the Fidesz and the KDNP could improve the economy.

The new government will have several possibilities at its disposal to solve the economic problems. The surveyors of the Median Opinion Poll Institute asked the people surveyed to choose three out of 10 possibilities they regard as the most important to implement, and another three possibilities they regard as the least important to

implement. On of a scale of 100, the figures under 50 show that people do not regard the implementation of the given task as particularly important, and the figures above 50 show that they regard it as important. On another scale of 100, the people in the survey listed the four most popular parties according to the extent these parties would strive to solve a given task if they became part of the government. Only 18 percent of the people were able to list the parties according to all the 10 tasks. Some 36 percent of the people could not list the parties. This also means that the data represent the opinion of more politically-informed people. This explains that, while a relative majority expects the MSZP to improve the economy, the SZDSZ is leading regarding the impelementation of every concrete task. Among the four parties, the MDF is rejected the most. In two cases, however, the MSZP came in the last place: People generally do not regard the flow of foreign capital and privatization as goals of the socialists. However, this will not cause the MSZP to lose many voters, because the majority of people do not regard the aforementioned tasks as really important.

Kolodziejczyk's U.S. Visit, Accord With Perry

WS2803121294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26-27 Mar 94 pp 1, 23

[Article by Ewa Szymanska from Washington: "Military Cooperation With U.S.A.; Kolodziejczyk Signed Agreement With Perry"; last paragraph unattributed]

[Text] *The solemn signing of a Polish-U.S. agreement on development of military cooperation was the highlight of a three-day visit to Washington by Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. The agreement, which on the U.S. part was signed by Defense Secretary William Perry, provides for regular meetings at the level of chiefs of staff and of military delegations, the possibility of the Polish military participating in U.S. training sessions, and U.S. support for modernization of the Polish Armed Forces. The agreement also provides for assistance to Poland in preparing our Army for cooperation with the Armed Forces of the NATO countries.*

After signing the declaration on cooperation, Minister Kolodziejczyk stated that the declaration expresses a full openness to cooperation and a new approach to Poland's role and place. From among the visit's specific results, Piotr Kolodziejczyk mentioned the establishment of a Polish-U.S. technical commission, whose goal is to assist with the Polish Army's modernization and also with restructuring the Polish defense industry. Defense Secretary William Perry accepted an invitation to pay a visit to Poland. No specific date for joint Polish-U.S. military exercises has been set, but General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with whom Kolodziejczyk had a meeting at the end of his U.S. visit, agreed to the minister's suggestion that they take place before the end of the year and that some U.S. troops participate in the Polish Army's maneuvers that had been planned earlier.

Minister Kolodziejczyk's talks on Capitol Hill have already resulted in first reactions. During a Senate debate, Senator Mitch McConnell spoke in favor of making more specific the criteria for participation by countries of the East in the "Partnership for Peace" program. McConnell also submitted a proposal for an amendment to a draft of a Senate bill concerning the appropriation of resources for military goals. The amendment contains the following passage: "The Unites States shall oppose, by applying the appropriate means, any attempts by the Russian Federation aimed at intimidation, using military force or economic blackmail, with the goal of restitution of spheres of influence on the territory of the former Soviet Republics, in the Baltic states, and in Central and East Europe."

When asked about his Washington meetings, Minister Kolodziejczyk replied that he is so optimistic that he is "afraid to push my luck." Concerning the sale of Polish helicopters to Burma, which was reported by news agencies in the morning, he said only that the matter has been cleared up. Poland was reported to have sold helicopters to Burma, where human rights are violated.

—Of the 13 countries that signed the so-called framework agreement with NATO concerning "Partnership for Peace," Poland was the first to initiate consultations with NATO regarding the program's specific contents. There are predictions that consultations concerning the so-called document of presentation will last several weeks.

Kwasniewski on Coalition, Rosati Candidacy

LD2503182494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1539 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Mar—Following his Friday meeting with Waldemar Pawlak, Aleksander Kwasniewski told journalists that the coalition is maintaining Dariusz Rosati's candidacy to the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister. The prime minister believes his candidacy to be "professional, prepared, competent, and responsible" within this government, Kwasniewski said.

The president's objections connected to the FOZZ [Foreign Debt Servicing Fund] affair are not substantive, and they are meaningless when confronted with official reports received by the prime minister from the prosecutor general and the head of the State Protection Office, which state that "there are no grounds why Rosati should not hold the highest government posts," Kwasniewski said.

In his opinion, the president is once again "not showing proper interest in stabilizing the situation in the country." The argument that someone is working abroad and is involved there with the process of transforming the economies of West European countries just does not hold water, he added.

"Everything is now in the hands of the prime minister," said Kwasniewski. He also assured his audience that Rosati would not make any hasty decision.

Should the prime minister receive an official letter from the president, we will be dealing with a new situation, but this will be a situation between the coalition and the president, declared Kwasniewski.

President's Spokesman, Parties Comment

LD2603092694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0800 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Professor Lech Falandysz, deputy head of the Presidential Chancellery, has said in the "Puls Dnia" television program that, for President Lech Walesa, the matter of the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati for the post of deputy prime minister and minister of finance is closed and that the president expects a new candidate from the government coalition for these posts.

[Begin recording] [Falandysz] The Small Constitution remains in force. A way out must be found.

[Unidentified correspondent] Which means?

[Falandysz] The president states that the decision is a final one. It is necessary to seek....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Does that mean that the president is waiting for a new candidate on the part of the coalition?

[Falandysz] There is no other way out. [end recording]

The causes for the rejection of this candidate were presented by Belweder press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski. [passage omitted]

Dariusz Rosati said in the evening that he is amazed at the arguments of the president.

[Begin Rosati recording] It is necessary to say that the causes cited by Mr. Drzycimski fill me with the greatest amazement. The first cause—that I have spent the past two and a half years abroad—is incomprehensible to me, if only because of the fact that, altogether, I have been concerned solely with the Polish economy for the past 20 years. And, for the past two years also, working for the United Nations, I have been concerned with the Polish economy and that of the countries of Central-Eastern Europe. I have permanent contact with the country; I read the press; I am in the country six or seven times a year. And, and, I have the impression that—I write, in any case, I have written and published a lot—I have the impression that I am quite well oriented with what is taking place in the Polish economy. [end recording]

The Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party [SLD-PSL] coalition and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak continue to maintain the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati. The prime minister's press office has reported that the prime minister has received reports from the prosecutor general and the head of the State Protection Office that there are no good reasons for Rosati not to assume important state posts. SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski has expressed the view that President Lech Walesa is not concerned that there be stabilization in the country. SLD Deputy Chairman Marek Borowski has suggested that it is appropriate to consider the limitation of the constitutional prerogatives of the president if Lech Walesa maintains his decision on the rejection of the candidacy of Rosati.

[Begin Borowski recording] If the president decides on this type of war—and I stress that the war in this case is being called forth by the president, not by the coalition—well, then, it will be necessary to consider whether the prerogatives of the president are not, quite simply, too great in this situation. There are no regulations that cannot be changed, including constitutional ones. Certainly, the Small Constitution says that the president may reject a candidacy, but there must really be exceptionally important reasons. I judge this to be, nonetheless, an attempt to drive a wedge between the coalition partners and, well, a certain propensity of the president to foment. [end recording]

Belweder spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski, who is with President Walesa in Gdansk, said yesterday that it is not precluded that on Monday there will be a follow-up meeting between the president and the prime minister. The prime minister will receive written justification for the rejection of the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati for the post of deputy prime minister and minister of finance.

Pawlak-Walesa 'Silent Accord' Implied

WS2803132394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26-27 Mar 94 p 2

[Commentary by Krzysztof Gottesman, under the "Observations" rubric]

[Text] Dariusz Rosati, a deputy prime minister and finance minister candidate, whom the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] has very seriously supported, failed to receive presidential approval. Aleksander Kwasniewski made assurances Friday [25 March] that Dariusz Rosati continues to be the joint candidate of the prime minister and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]-SLD coalition, which is waiting for the president to change his decision. But Andrzej Drzycimski, Lech Walesa's spokesman, ruled out such a possibility. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak did not speak out on the issue.

The course of events may suggest that President Lech Walesa may not have been the only one to have doubts about Rosati's candidacy. That proposition could have been supported by statements coming from the PSL, by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's procrastination in his decision, and also by changes implemented in the Finance Ministry's leadership. So the president could have just willingly implemented a decision that the PSL coalition members were in an awkward position to implement. There has been a silent accord emerging for some time between the president and Waldemar Pawlak. I think both of them are equally interested in the SLD, and Aleksander Kwasniewski personally, not gaining too strong a position.

The SLD is aware of the danger of close cooperation between the PSL and the president. That proposition may be supported by statements made by [former Finance Minister] Marek Borowski concerning the president's unreasonable powers and also by an evening session of the SLD Parliamentary Club during which there was unequivocal talk of the possibility of the parliament confronting the president. It was as if the essence of the president's decision was ignored. One can have doubts about whether it is a good situation where a deputy prime minister for economic affairs and the man responsible for the state's finances will be testifying in front of a court of law in the future in what is obviously a scandal, regardless of his status when in front of the court.

First responses by the SLD leader indicate that he and his party intend to persist with their candidacy. On the other hand, the prime minister's restraint may suggest

that the current state of "suspension of things" is to his liking. But will that not lead to instability in the coalition's situation?

The question as to who would gain more out of a possible confrontation is open, even though there are many signs today that the SLD's position would deteriorate as a result of such a confrontation. There are no volunteers willing to form a coalition with the SLD. The Democratic Union [UD], which could possibly be considered, but with a whole list of reservations, is bound not to take such a step after it merges with the Liberal-Democratic Congress. The PSL's position seems much more comfortable. Neither UD nor the Union of Labor nor the presidential Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms (under certain terms, of course) rule out by definition cooperation with Pawlak.

The impact of the current crisis on the situation within the SLD could also be interesting. Aleksander Kwasniewski's position within the party may be substantially weakened as a result of the recent coalition crises. He may be the recipient of a majority of accusations by his colleagues from the party concerning lack of efficiency, going along with the PSL, excessive self-confidence, and too unequivocal and perhaps not always mature opinions expressed. The SLD is not a monolith, and it also has three leaders who sooner or later may start competing with each other. So it is possible that the recent events may be perceived inside the party as mistakes made by a leader whose powers should be slightly curtailed "in the name of the coalition's continued existence."

Joint Declaration With Ukraine on Cooperation

WS2503163994 Warsaw Foreign Ministry Declaration in Polish 21 Mar 94

["Declaration by the Foreign Ministers of the Polish Republic and Ukraine Concerning the Principles of Establishing a Polish-Ukrainian Partnership," signed in Warsaw on 21 March; furnished by the Polish Foreign Ministry]

[Text] The Polish Republic and Ukraine:

While taking into account the experiences of our common historical past, while being aware of the necessity for further development of good-neighborly relations, and while striving to strengthen the climate of friendly understanding between the Polish and Ukrainian nations,

While extrapolating the provisions of the Treaty of 18 May 1992 between the Polish Republic and Ukraine on good-neighborly relations, friendly relations, and cooperation,

While confirming their mutual striving and desire to facilitate strengthening security in Central and East Europe and stabilization of the political situation in the region,

While taking into account that both countries have signed the Framework Document of the "Partnership for Peace" program,

While recognizing the vital necessity of multifaceted cooperation between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine as states that can and should play a significant role in the region of Central and East Europe with the aim of solving complicated problems based on the principles of an equal-rights and democratic partnership,

While being in favor of relations between states being based on equal rights, and without any application of pressure or dictate,

While taking into account the mutual efforts to widen the cooperation in the field of observing the rights of people who belong to national minorities—that is, the Polish minority in Ukraine and the Ukrainian minority in Poland,

While stressing the importance of developing interregional and cross-border cooperation, both in the bilateral and multilateral aspect,

Declare as follows:

1. The existence of an independent Ukraine is of a strategic dimension to Poland and is an important factor conducive to its independence, just like the existence of an independent Poland is of a strategic dimension to Ukraine.

2. On the basis of the assumption of irreversibility of the changes that took place in Europe, the Polish Republic and Ukraine express their conviction that a practical implementation of the idea of a close Polish-Ukrainian partnership will contribute to the establishment of an effective, all-European security system.

3. Active measures by the Polish Republic and Ukraine for the sake of establishing an all-European security system should prevent the emergence of new divisions, the rebirth of tendencies of a hegemonisitc nature, and the creation of spheres of influence.

Particular importance will be attached to cooperation of the two countries within the Framework Document of the "Partnership for Peace" program, and also within the United Nations, the CSCE, and NACC [North Atlantic Cooperation Council].

4. Concerted counteraction against potential dangers to stabilization in Central and East Europe, of both a military and a nonmilitary nature, will require a widening and a strengthening of cooperation based on the principles of equality between the Polish Republic and Ukraine and all of the countries of the region.

5. While appreciating the significance of economic factors in the shaping of contemporary Europe and the world, the Polish Republic and Ukraine will intensify the close and mutually beneficial economic cooperation and

also the exchange of experiences in the area of implementing processes of economic transformations; they will also undertake multifaceted measures conducive to their efficient implementation.

6. While affirming their attachment to democratic principles and values and regarding their observance as determining the future of the Polish Republic and Ukraine, both countries will be guided by principles according to which observance of fundamental human rights and freedoms, including the rights of national minorities, is an indispensable condition for strengthening peace and security in Europe.

7. The Polish Republic and Ukraine affirm their attachment to common values of the European civilization, which they will use as guidelines in cooperation both between themselves and with other countries of our continent.

8. The Polish Republic and Ukraine will facilitate the widest possible inclusion of voivodships, districts, enterprises, organizations, and citizens of both countries in economic, humanitarian, and cultural cooperation, including the "Karpaty" Euroregion.

The declaration was written in Warsaw on 21 March 1994, in two copies—that is, in Polish and Ukrainian—with both texts being authentic.

[signed] Foreign Minister of the Polish Republic, Andrzej Olechowski

[signed] Foreign Minister of Ukraine, Anatoliy Zlenko

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Speech in Warsaw

WS2503143094 Warsaw Foreign Ministry Hand-Out in Polish 22 Mar 94

[Text of speech by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko at the Eastern Studies Center in Warsaw on 22 March—furnished by the Polish Foreign Ministry]

[Text] Dear Mr. Director! Ladies and Gentlemen!

First of all, I want to thank you for the honor of being able to speak at your center, which has gained worldwide recognition as an institution whose analyses, advice, and forecasts are attentively listened to, not just in Poland but also beyond its borders.

So I expect my speech to contribute to a better understanding of concepts that are the current guidelines for the Ukrainian Government in its hard work aimed at strengthening a sovereign Ukraine in European international relations, and also that it will contribute to a better understanding of our approach to contemporary political realities.

The restitution of the Ukrainian state, as the two years of its independent existence have shown, is taking place under extremely complicated external and domestic conditions. To a great extent, these conditions are a consequence of historical eruptions that took place in Europe in the late 1980's and early 1990's. Unfortunately, our expectations of speedy reforms and the unconditional acceptance of Ukraine into the European community of nations did not materialize. Also, our expectations of speedy assistance on the part of Western countries came across the fact that these countries, while undergoing serious crises in their own economies, were not able to come up with sufficient resources to support young and independent states, including Ukraine. It is also true that it would be a mistake not to see some prejudices and old-fashioned stereotypes in the politics of some countries.

It was also difficult to predict that, along with the elimination of military and political confrontation between the two blocs, the world is not going to become a safer place, and the degree of predictability with regard to individual countries' behavior will not increase at all.

Bloody conflicts are going on in various regions of the globe, which require much effort and many resources on the part of developed countries and the entire international community. International organizations whose goal was to maintain and assure peace are faced with new and unexpected challenges that force the world to change its approach to many problems that have, so far, not been unequivocally resolved.

Ukraine does not exist in a vacuum, nor is it isolated from the world and these events. The complexity of the new situation in Europe and around the world required a constant search for ways of maneuvering so as to lead the country through the underwater reefs that emerge at points of disagreement among the countries of the world, as well as at points where different and sometimes contradictory interests and trends cross one another.

There are also many specific domestic factors that do not make our situation any easier. You are aware, ladies and gentlemen, that Ukraine inherited, as a legacy of the former USSR, an industry that is oriented primarily to the production of products of the military-industrial complex, and also morally exploited technologies, completely amortized industrial equipment, the enormous burden of the Chernobyl disaster, as well as many other problems, the overcoming of which would be difficult for even the world's most developed countries. A whole list of objective and subjective reasons also led to a decline in production and a rise in inflation. Within the complicated economic situation, a constant shaping of Ukraine's internal political system is taking place. Currently, as never before, we are radically feeling the need for cardinal changes in the activities of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Of course, under conditions where mistakes simply cannot be avoided, many people find it hard to resist the temptation of making political capital. At the same time, representatives of a whole range of organizations, parties, and movements have been using the most disgraceful of methods: preying

on national and religious feelings, applying completely unmotivated incitements to strike, and cultivating separatist ideas.

But the Ukrainian nation and Government have already made the final choice. While not paying attention to any kind of obstacles, we will persistently follow the path of a return to all-human values, the creation of a state based on law, and the guaranteeing of human rights and freedoms; it is the path of democracy and economic transformations, a rebirth of Ukrainian culture with simultaneous legal guarantees of maintaining the independence of all national and ethnic minorities living in Ukraine.

The fundamental principle of securing state independence and political sovereignty has been the basis for Ukraine's foreign policy doctrine from the very beginning. As one of the founding members of the United Nations, Ukraine declared its desire to shape and develop its relations with other countries in accordance with the UN Charter, decisions contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, the Paris Charter for New Europe, and other CSCE documents. Nonconditional observance of generally recognized norms of international law and nonapplication of any means of pressure or dictate whatsoever in international relations, acquired special importance in Ukraine's foreign policy.

Taking the aforementioned principles as the basis, we wanted Ukraine's entry onto the international scene as a sovereign country to take place in the "softest" way possible, without interfering with relationships and connections existing in the international community. At the same time, Ukraine, due to many factors and reasons and aware of its role in the world, intends to achieve the place it rightly deserves among European countries. I would like our fundamental and priority-based approach to be well understood: Ukraine is an inherent and inseparable part of Europe, and that fact determines the philosophy and direction of our ideas on Ukraine's place and role in the contemporary world. Precisely because of that, overcoming the artificial separation of Ukraine from Europe, as well as overcoming the barriers which continue to exist and divide our not-too-big continent, is one of the most significant tasks of our independent policy. The policy is aimed at securing certain guarantees of Ukraine's external security, using experiences acquired by European democracies in the area of building a democratic society of law and order which would be an inseparable part of European political, legal, economic, material, and spiritual culture.

A return to the practice of bilateral relations with other countries after a break of 70 years, is a fact which cannot be overestimated from the standpoint of building an independent and democratic Ukraine. At the same time, we view the European region as a whole, and as a common home for all nations and countries which live here. The full integration of Ukraine into all-European political, economic, cultural, and other kinds of associations, is our final goal.

It is quite a natural thing that neighboring countries are of primary importance in that activity. That is why the fact that Russia, Poland, Hungary, Belarus, Moldova, the Slovak Republic, and Romania are our geographical neighbors, requires working out precisely this kind of policy, that is one of approaching them as neighbors with whom one wants to see peaceful coexistence, cooperation, and mutual respect. That is an objective reality and must be perceived precisely in that context.

Speaking about bilateral relations, I would like to discuss separately Ukraine's relations with the Republic of Poland. We remember and we highly appreciate the fact that your country was the first foreign country to have recognized Ukraine's independence. After Ukraine gained its independence, relations between our two countries, which have a balance of common, European interests as their basis, entered a qualitatively new stage and right now we are fully entitled to describe them as relations of a strategic partnership. The decision to establish a Consultative Committee of the Presidents of Ukraine and the Polish Republic, which was made during the visit of Polish President L. Walesa to Ukraine, is proof that Poland also treats Polish-Ukrainian relations in an appropriate manner. The committee's activity includes analyzing and preparing proposals concerning a wide variety of issues which emerge in relations between Ukraine and Poland, as well as problems of the Central and East European region and international politics.

Ukraine is a European country and in its desire to integrate with European political and economic structures in the most natural way possible, it is condemned to the necessity of developing multifaceted relations with European countries, with economically developed ones as priority, whose assistance Ukraine counts on in the current period, which is very complicated from the standpoint of making our economic and political independence permanent.

The development of relations with Western European countries creates the necessary conditions for resuming Ukraine's political, economic, cultural, and spiritual ties with European civilization, as well as for speeding up the democratization process, the implementation of market reforms, and nursing the national economy back to health. At the same time, such cooperation will become a basis for widening Ukraine's participation in European structures and for the future integration of the Ukrainian economy into the European and world economic area.

Access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean determines other priorities in the area of regional cooperation, first of all with countries enjoying some authority, primarily with Turkey, Greece, and Bulgaria.

Our country attaches great importance to the development of mutually beneficial and effective bilateral relations with countries of the Asian and Pacific region which, due to its extremely high rate of economic and

social development by a majority of countries in the region, has quite correctly been called the "region of the 21st century."

The process of a practical shaping of partnership relations between Ukraine and countries of the Asian and Pacific region, has already begun and it is bringing results which can be felt as time passes—that is demonstrated first of all by the results of last year's official visits to Ukraine by state and government delegations (including at the highest level) from India, the People's Republic of China, Vietnam, and other countries.

But it is with the year 1994 that we associate our special hopes linked to the implementation of enormous prospects for Ukraine's cooperation with countries of the Asian and Pacific region. Our relations of mutual understanding and cooperation with Japan and also with North and South Korea, are beginning to take the desired course.

We regard the development of relations with countries of the Near and Middle East, as well as Africa, as one of the most important directions of Ukrainian foreign policy; these countries are gradually becoming our economic partners. The official visits by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to Egypt, Israel, and the Republic of Tunisia, are proof of our intentions and readiness to develop mutually beneficial cooperation with the countries of these regions.

Our relations with the United States in military and political areas, are valuable to us; this applies in particular to common security and disarmament. But the priority nature of these relations is not just a consequence of that: Currently, economic cooperation with that huge country is important to Ukraine.

As for our relations with Russia, they remain the main priority in Ukraine's relations with the outside world, and this is the way they will remain in the predictable future. Russia is our most important neighbor. Our approach to the development of these relations is defined in detail in "The Main directions of Ukrainian Foreign Policy." We understand that Russia is a special kind of partner to us and that is why we regard our relations as those of a special partnership. Of course, there are also many problems in the development of our relations, as we have seen during 1993, these problems were first of all caused by the fact that issues linked to the collapse of the former Soviet Union continue to be unresolved. This applies in particular to the problem of legal continuity, the property of the former USSR, as well as some others. Some constructive measures have been undertaken in that regard in the recent time period. We have always been saying—and we will continue to do so—that Ukraine is open to any proposals which would not conflict with our national interests, and these are the realities of our approach to the development of relations with Russia.

We believe that compromises are certainly important; however, they must correspond to the fundamental interests of this or that state. It is understandable that the internal political situation that has now developed in Russia compels us to make some reflections. It may be necessary to work in not very favorable conditions; however, this will not change our view that we must work. We are ready for such work. I would like to emphasize once again, however, that real achievements in the development of Ukrainian-Russian relations may be made only if every political decision takes into account, to the maximum degree possible, the interests of both parties. Vital is the good will of both partners; the Ukrainian side exhibits such a good will.

In the situation which has now developed in Russia and some other states of the CIS, also due to the conflicts which pose a real threat to peace and stability not only on the territory of the former Soviet Union, but also in all of East Europe, one can say that the 52 million Ukrainians are able to play and are already playing a serious stabilizing role throughout the post-Soviet areas. Therefore, one of our main priorities is supporting the process of strengthening stability and security, both in Europe and in our regional relations.

Being aware of the importance of both regional and national activities for strengthening the stability and security in Europe, Ukraine confirmed its devotion to these goals by firmly starting along the road to achieving the status of a nonnuclear state. This is proven by the signing on 14 January of the well-known Trilateral Declaration by the presidents of Ukraine, the United States, and Russia, as well as the recent decision by the Supreme Council of Ukraine canceling the reservations included in the resolution on the ratification of START I. This exceptionally important decision paves the way for the practical implementation of the program of the gradual nuclear disarmament of Ukraine, as well as renders the overall situation in Europe and in the world more stable and predictable.

Considering the principle of the indivisibility of international peace and security to be one of our main guides, in our foreign policy we defend the approach of "security for ourselves through security for everyone." Considering this principle to be the motto of contemporary European international relations, it is with particular responsibility that we approach one of the most important elements of the situation in Europe today—the ability of each European state, including those called "new democracies," not only to seek, but also create security.

In this context, the role of Ukraine, as we understand it, is tremendously important because, as a consequence of Ukraine's regaining its statehood in Europe, a radically new geopolitical situation has developed.

The establishment of a potentially powerful state, located in the geographical center of Europe, and its entry into the European community without any conflict should play a stabilizing role. Such a role certainly corresponds to the principles of Ukraine's foreign policy.

Our diplomatic efforts concentrate on establishing and strengthening stable international mechanisms of security on the bilateral, subregional, regional, and global level. This task is rather difficult and it must be resolved in not-very-favorable surroundings, because when new independent states appeared, whose national interests have not been established and agreed upon yet, the old structural mechanisms, supporting stability and security, were practically destroyed. This produced the effect of the so-called security vacuum, which was felt by practically all the new democracies. Old threats and dangers were replaced by new ones.

Bearing the above-mentioned facts in mind, Ukraine launched an initiative to create a zone of stability and security in Central and East Europe. This idea is to a certain extent convergent with the approach which was once proposed by Polish President L. Walesa, and then also by French Prime Minister E. Balladur. The most important element in our approach is that stability and instability cannot coexist for a long time without conflict. The stability of "traditional Europe" is supposed to become the stability of "the new Europe." Each participant should make serious efforts so that this can be achieved.

Since the confrontation of military blocks in Europe has ceased to exist, especially important becomes the issue of establishing an all-European security structure on the basis of existing international organizations, such as CSCE, NATO, Council of North Atlantic Cooperation, and the Western European Union. We are convinced that only the direct membership of Ukraine in such a structure will provide it with indispensable guarantees of its national security.

An important role in the strengthening of security in the CSCE region is played by NATO. Ukraine actively participates in the activities of its new organ—the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, the establishment of which was indisputably a logical and bold step. However, time is running out. Present-day challenges call for a new look at the concept of the activities, the role, and the place of NATO in Europe. A significant step in this direction was the acceptance of the "Partnership for Peace" program at the NATO summit in January. Ukraine expressed its readiness for active cooperation with NATO within this program, and I myself have recently had the honor to place my signature on the "Partnership for Peace" framework document. Thus, our country was the first CIS state to join this program. It was with understanding that Ukraine responded to this initiative, as one that does not introduce any new lines of division in Europe, leaves an open door to NATO, and is an instrument for gradually extending this organization for the purpose of shaping a new security system in Europe. At the same time we believe that it is extremely important and indispensable to resolve the problem of NATO's continuing search for its new role in the process of building the European security system and the problem of the organization's overcoming its "identity crisis" in the contemporary, postconfrontation Europe.

Certainly the issue of ensuring stability and security in the new Europe is multidimensional and complex. It comprises elements of a military-political nature, as well as economic, social, cultural, humanitarian, and other areas. We understand that in all those directions, we must face very difficult tests. We also understand that the main burden of passing from the communist model of development to the European, democratic model will have to be carried by ourselves. At the same time, we expect that the importance of the tasks that we must face will encourage all of Europe to give some thought to the current situation and to understand the significance of uniting their efforts in the work of building a more secure and flourishing new Europe.

Economic relations, both bilateral and multilateral, with European countries are of tremendous importance to us. As we worked on the concept of Ukraine's regional cooperation, we bore in mind the obvious necessity of "economizing" our contacts, increasing the commercial-economic aspect of Ukraine's participation in regional organizations. Only this road will be able to lead us to effective implementation of economic transformations of the country and to the transition to the market economy. Ukraine's firm goal is the development and deepening of comprehensive cooperation with the EC and gradual integration into the Pan-European economic zone. Right now we still need aid and support from the European Union and leading European financial establishments.

We are aware of the fact that the full incorporation of Ukraine in the contemporary all-European process in all its dimensions calls for some time, considerable efforts, and an open request on the part of all the interested parties. We speak about the latter firmly and openly, taking into consideration our real possibilities and the results of the lasting integration of the economic and social systems within the former Soviet Union and the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that Ukraine not only wants to be incorporated into the integration processes in the West, but it also supports real, new integration processes in the East. It is most important to abandon, within those integration processes, the centralized system of controlling the economy, and to strengthen qualitatively new relations that are mutually favorable and effective.

Right now in Ukraine, active preparations are under way for the adoption of a new constitution; soon we will hold practically the first democratic elections to the organs of the legislative authorities. A general strategy of the country's economic and political development is being defined. Despite great difficulties, fundamental elements of democracy and a socially oriented market economy are taking root in our social life. Moreover, Ukraine

managed to maintain the most important things: peace and social, civic, and ethnic order.

Today we can say with full responsibility that there is no alternative to democracy and economic reform for Ukraine. In the future, we see Ukraine as a democratic state with equal rights in a united Europe. We expect you to actively support this historical striving of ours.

Thank you for your attention.

Iliescu Pardons Communists, Ethnic Hungarians

AU2603191494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] At his weekly news conference today, Presidential Spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu said that, in accordance with constitutional provisions, Romanian President Ion Iliescu has signed 24 individual pardons, including for those involved in the murders committed at Albesti, Zetea, and Dealul [villages in Transylvania where Romanian policemen were killed by ethnic Hungarians during the December 1989 events] and former candidate members of the former Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. In reply to a question as to whether the pardons have anything to do with the visit of the Council of Europe rapporteurs, Chebeleu answered in the affirmative, to the extent that some of the rapporteurs have brought up the issue of certain interventions made by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] in this respect.

In connection with President Iliescu's meeting with the chief editors of the main dailies on 21 March, Traian Chebeleu said that two letters are now being drafted to be sent to Petre Mihai Bacanu [chief editor of ROMANIA LIBERA] and Ion Cristoiu [chief editor of EVENIMENTUL ZILEI], explaining the exact purpose of the meeting.

The spokesman denied rumors that the government has revised its decision to appoint General Niculae Spiroiu as our country's representative at NATO headquarters in Brussels.

Decree Lists 24 Persons Pardoned

AU2603191594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] According to constitutional stipulations, the Romanian president has signed a decree on the basis of which the penalties applied to the following convicts are pardoned: Gheorghe Dorus, Ion Manole, and Gabriela Cristina Muresan.

Pardoned from the execution of the rest of their penalties are the convicts Stefan Andrei, Silviu Curticeanu, Suzanica Gadea, Mihai Gere, Dan Ludlin, Ana Muresan, Eva Eugenia Nicolau, Titu Popescu, Constantin Radu, Ion Stoian, and Ion Toma.

One-third of the penalties applied to the following convicts are pardoned: (Veronica Gansmer) and Ioan Popa.

Two-thirds of the penalties applied to the following convicts are pardoned: Pavel Ambrus and Istvan Nagy.

Three-quarters of the penalties applied to the following convicts are pardoned: Mihaly Balint, Ferenc Boldizsar, Istvan Illyes, Laszlo Karsai, Imre Nagy, and Elod Vas Kiss.

The decree is dated 24 March 1994.

Further on Visit by Turkey Demirel

Demirel on Ties, Balkan Issues

AU2703184394 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 23 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

["Exclusive" interview with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel by Cristina Oroveanu; place and date not given: "We Are Ready To Support Romania by Any Means"]

[Text] [Oroveanu] Mr. President, we would like you to describe to our readers the Turkey of today, facts and options.

[Demirel] At this time, Turkey continues to enjoy the fruits of democracy with all its principles, bodies, and concepts. Democratic freedoms have been institutionalized and the constitutional system guarantees democratic freedoms and the observance of human rights for everyone.

Turkey has successfully gone through the transition process to a free market economy. So far 70 percent of Turkey's economy has been liberalized. A substantial improvement in the qualification of human resources and of the potential of entrepreneurs have helped us open rapidly to the world.

Along with the conclusion of the Cold War, Turkey's geopolitical and economic situation gained in importance and we have become an island of stability both in our area and in the world. At this point, we are in the midst of the instability in our area. In accordance with the UN Charter and international law, we assume responsibility in bringing peace and stability in these sources of conflict.

[Oroveanu] Mr. President, with what thoughts have you come to Romania on this visit?

[Demirel] The Turkish people have always harbored feelings of friendship for the Romanian people. We have lived in peace throughout history, both during good and bad times. We share common ideals and aims regarding the promotion of our nation's wellbeing and regarding peace and stability in the area in which we live. Our relations are based on mutual respect and cooperation. Thus, the means to intensify relations between the two countries have always been clear.

It is enough to consider the list of recent official visits, at all levels, to Turkey or to Romania to realize the potential of our political will to continue to develop our friendly relations. These visits are excellent opportunities to identify—on the basis of the already existing potential—new and varied realms of cooperation between our countries. These visits also permit us to consult each other about important questions of regional interest for both countries.

The search for new opportunities of cooperation regarding global problems is also one of our common aims.

Finally, we believe that the "Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, and Cooperation" between Turkey and Romania reflects the desire for peace by the two peoples.

With these thoughts I am looking forward to my visit to Romania.

[Oroveanu] Considering the political, historic, and geographical situation, in your opinion, what role may Turkey and Romania play together in our area and in the existing overall international relations?

[Demirel] The traditional friendship between Turkey and Romania does not only represent the foundation for intensifying cooperation between the two countries in all areas, but also constitutes a factor for ensuring an atmosphere of peace, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans.

Turkey and Romania are two important countries in this area. From a regional point of view, our countries are important in the Balkans both in terms of population and economic potential. Both endorse a responsible policy of promoting peace and stability in this area. Both are struggling for seeking a just and lasting solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their desire to contribute to peace in this area is welcomed by the international community. Therefore, it is natural for the excellent relations between Turkey and Romania to contribute to establishing stability in the Balkans.

At the same time, both Turkey and Romania want to be part of the European structures, whose principles they honestly embrace. They are both members of the Treaty of Cooperation in the Black Sea Area and both support the initiatives for cooperation in the Balkans. Turkey and Romania and, like them, the entire area have gained a great deal from cooperating within these forums, as well as within other regional and international organizations.

[Oroveanu] Mr. President, in your view, what are the chances for the cooperation projects in the Black Sea area and its immediate vicinity?

[Demirel] As you know, there is a significant economic potential in the Black Sea area, including natural resources. We believe that economic cooperation in the Black Sea basin will help the countries in this area benefit from this potential. We are confident that the establishment of lasting multilateral economic relations based on free trade will contribute to the prosperity of this area.

The chances for the success of the Treaty of Cooperation in the Black Sea Area (BSEC) affirm themselves along with the transformation process experienced by most of the economies in the BSEC countries. One has to bear in mind, however, that BSEC represents a long-term investment the fruits of which will be noted in the long run. Anyhow, there are already a number of short-term projects under way; the accords on their implementation have already been signed. These projects will be followed by short-, medium- and long-term projects in the area of transportation.

A problem we may confront is the one of identifying appropriate sources for financing these projects. Our experience proves that the true problem consists in presenting feasible projects. The creation of the Bank for Trade and Development of the Black Sea proves the growing interest of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and of international financial circles in the BSEC projects, and it also proves that feasible projects may ensure their own financing.

Thus, if the private sector, the leading force behind BSEC, may come up with feasible projects, there is a great chance that they will be implemented.

Within this context, we attach particular importance to developing economic and trade relations with Romania. I would like to remind you that the number of Turkish companies doing business with Romania has exceeded 2,500 in the past four years and the capital invested in this country amounts to $30 million. During my visit, we will attend the opening of the Turkish-Romanian Bank. The results we have achieved in these four years should not be underrated. We are sure that this positive trend will also continue in the not too distant future.

[Oroveanu] Mr. President, would you like to address a few words to the readers of our paper?

[Demirel] As I have mentioned before, Turkey and Romania share numerous goals and ideals regarding the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of their two peoples and in the area as a whole. We have to continue to make efforts in this direction. Both our countries have large resources, both human and natural, supported by their attachment to the democratic ideals and the principles of the free economy, so that nothing can hamper the settlement of the problems we are facing. From this point of view, we are ready to support Romania by any possible means. We wish the Romanian people success in fulfilling their aspirations.

Joint News Conference Ends Visit

AU2503125394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] A joint news conference by Turkish President Suleyman Demirel and Romanian President Ion Iliescu started this morning at 0830 at Cotroceni Palace to mark the conclusion of the state visit by the Turkish president to our country.

During the conference the two presidents stressed their common wish to develop bilateral relations in all areas and stressed that a climate of mutual confidence prevails between the two countries. During Demirel's visit to Romania, the sides have examined concrete means of further cooperation, especially in the economic sphere. During the news conference the sides stressed the importance of cooperation in the Black Sea area and of next

month's meeting in Bucharest within the framework of the International Forum of Crans Montana.

Demirel said that the friendship between Turkey and Romania does not harm anybody and added that it is most important to ensure stability in our countries and throughout the region. He noted that Romania and Turkey have a joint wish that, through bilateral efforts, they should contribute to the establishment of stability in the region.

Similarly, President Demirel wished to stress the extremely important mission incumbent on our countries, namely, to be a bridge connecting Europe and Asia.

In reply to journalists' questions, the Turkish president declared that he welcomed the U.S. initiative in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a way to stop the bloodshed, regardless of which sides might cause it. President Demirel also said that he did not understand the international opposition to having Turkish soldiers sent to Bosnia within the framework of the peacekeeping forces, given that this is a decision made by the United Nations.

In turn, President Ion Iliescu said that Romania will not send soldiers to the peacekeeping mission in the former Yugoslavia in view of the UN decision stipulating that direct neighbors should not contribute to the peacekeeping forces.

During the news conference the Turkish president mentioned that he had invited Romania's president to pay an official visit to Turkey, and Ion Iliescu had accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Further on News Conference

TA2503151594 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Report by Serdar Dimli from Bucharest]

[Text] President Suleyman Demirel and Romanian President Ion Iliescu held a joint news conference this morning in Bucharest where they assessed the outcome of Demirel's visit and answered reporters' questions.

Iliescu stated that Demirel's visit is proof of the joint political will to further bilateral relations between the two countries. Indicating that the political dialogue held with Demirel was very beneficial, Iliescu added that the favorable relations between the two countries will contribute to the peace and stability in the region. Iliescu pointed out that the geographical proximity and the complementary economies of the two countries necessitates added cooperation. Iliescu stated that the trade volume between the two countries will be increased from $400 million to $1 billion.

Demirel, in turn, stated that Romania and Turkey have taken great responsibility upon themselves within their geographical boundaries and the existing world order. Stressing that there are no problems between the two countries, Demirel said that this visit proves the existence of the political will needed to achieve cooperation in all areas. Demirel said that Turkey appreciates the political and economic reforms in Romania.

Demirel noted that Turkish and Romanian business circles will be encouraged to make reciprocal investments as well as investments in third countries. Pointing out that both countries are situated in problematic regions, Demirel stated that Turkey and Romania agree in solving all conflicts by negotiations.

In a written communique on Demirel's visit to Romania, it was stressed that the relations between the two countries are excellent. The work to be undertaken to further cooperation was cited in the communique as follows: Furthering cooperation in the trade and industrial area and speedy preparation of a free trade agreement; facilitation and encouragement of mutual investments; undertaking close cooperation regarding communications and land, maritime, air, and railway transportation; developing infrastructure projects; and establishing a Turkish cultural center in Constantsa and a Romanian cultural center in Istanbul.

During the Turkish-Romanian meetings in Bucharest, the two presidents agreed to further efforts regarding the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. Both sides agreed to continue the active political dialogue on bilateral and international platforms. Meanwhile, a cooperation program was signed in Bucharest. Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin and his Romanian counterpart signed the cooperation agreement.

Demirel departed for Constantsa following the news conference.

Editorial Warns of 'Damage' of Early Elections

AU2603194694 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Mar 94 p 1

[Mihai Mihailescu editorial: "To the Ballot, Folks"]

[Text] Indeed, the modern government party wants, from the bottom of its heart, "to bring about change, provided everything stays the same..." [quote from playwright Ion Luca Caragiale]. The rulers do not accept that the time has come for them to either retire or reform. They are clinging to power for the sake of being able to do their deals while they enjoy immunity and for the sake of power in itself.

The ruling party is at the stage of total failure: Failure at the national level, through a disastrous government; failure in the negotiations with its satellites, which want to partake in the government, but the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] realizes that, if it ever allows this to happen, it will be submitted to huge pressure from abroad; failure in the negotiations with the opposition, because the PDSR does not want to make any concessions and, as usual, it is not playing fairly (How serious

can a political partner be, when it reshuffles the government at the Cotroceni Presidential Palace while it is engaged in negotiations with other parties for a new government formula?); and failure in its own strategy, since it cannot even reform itself for the sake of appearances.

In this situation, it is hard to avoid a collapse into total parliamentary incoherence. The satellite parties may withdraw their support for the ruling party or a group might split from the PDSR. Anyhow, if any of this were to happen, the legislative branch will enter into a conflict with the current government and government program. It becomes increasingly more clear that we will have early elections, which the PDSR fears so much.

In the case of elections, the confrontation will be between several political forces represented in Parliament. The extraparliamentary parties, except for the National Liberal Party [PNL], have been left only with their names. An analysis of the likely political spectrum of the future does not reveal any spectacular developments.

The Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR] has taken its leave from a political position of rank. It tried to save itself through a merger with the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], which was a rather poor move per se, as the PUNR is going downhill. Nothing will probably be left of the PDAR in Parliament, other than the picturesque presence of [PDAR President] Surdu, who will run on other electoral lists.

The Greater Romania Party [PRM] can only rely on the readers of ROMANIA MARE, whose number has obviously decreased. This party will find it hard to win enough votes for another parliamentary representation, unless it allies itself with other political groupings.

The PUNR is moving toward a fiasco. What damaged it a lot was its bombastic jingoist attitude, unsupported by a coherent program, and, of course, the Caritas affair. The replacement of some of its eccentric leaders might save it, to a certain extent.

We do not believe that the popularity of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] is growing at such a dizzying pace, as it claims. However, it has managed to secure for itself a certain segment of the electorate. It might start growing if the party renounces [PSM President] Ilie Verdet and other leaders from the old guard, and if [PSM Vice President] Adrian Paunescu's temper could be somehow restrained and his skills at organizing an electoral campaign properly exploited.

The Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD(FSN)] is relatively stable. Some of its electorate—although not too large a part of it—might nevertheless be drawn (by force) toward the ruling party. Anyhow, the PD(FSN) cuts quite a sympathetic figure, thanks to its able and young leaders.

The PDSR is right when it fears the elections, since it is burdened by the catastrophic Vacaroiu governance. Theoretically, President Iliescu cannot interfere and support this party. We are sure that he will do so anyway; but, even so, he cannot help much, since he himself is registering a decrease in popularity.

The grouping best situated for the elections is the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. The people want change, even though they do not hope for miracles, and they perceive the CDR as the political force capable of making this change. One should also not forget the personality of Coposu [president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, PNTCD], which is increasingly winning over the electorate.

As one can see, the major confrontation will be between the PDSR and the CDR. Of course, the PDSR will employ all its battle arsenal—promises, threats, unfair electoral campaign, and particularly fraud—since it is the ruling party that will organize the elections. In this respect, the CDR should take protective measures and not rest on its laurels before it has them.

Maybe the ruling party will realize at the last moment the extent of the damage that early elections at this time might cause, given the general misery prevailing in the country. Hopefully, it will engage in serious negotiations for a change that cannot be delayed any more. Otherwise, to the ballot, folks! Unless, of course, we are so hungry that we are going to faint on our way to the voting stations....

Commentary Criticizes Iliescu's 'Radical Change'

AU2603192194 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 23 Mar 94 p 1

[Ion Cristoiu commentary: "Ion Iliescu—A Person To Be Pitied"]

[Text] As our readers may know, forgetting about all the harassments we were lately subjected to by the presidential institution, on 21 March I went to the Cotroceni [presidential headquarters] meeting of the president with the directors and chief editors of the major dailies. I did that out of the sense of duty I feel for our readers. I had to see, with my own eyes, without intermediaries, what is happening with Ion Iliescu. Has he changed at all since his meeting two years ago, preceding the electoral campaign, with journalists of various Bucharest publications, a meeting I also had the honor of attending? After the conclusion of the recent three-hour meeting, after having listened to Iliescu—who kept talking throughout the meeting, from its very beginning to the end, interrupting, with or without a reason, his partners—my conclusion is absolutely clear: The president has undergone a radical change. Two years ago, he still had certain doubts. Whether to run for president or not. Whether to turn right or left. Whether what he was doing was right or wrong. Now, however, he has no doubts. Now, he is firmly convinced that whatever he does is right. He is

firmly convinced that truth is on his side. He is convinced he is right with respect to the domestic and international orientations of the country, the political spectrum available at home, and, what is even more, regarding the way in which dailies should be run. The journalists, we poor devils, are coming from the trenches of life. We know everyday reality, we have contact with it directly, brutally, and not by way of briefings elaborated by counselors. We know, in detail, all the dramatic aspects of the current hard life in Romania. We know that everything is stagnant. We know that there is an extremely grave economic and political blockage. We know that prices are increasing continually. We know all this from the hundreds of letters and phonecalls addressed to us by our readers, as well as from assessing our own situation: The circulation of our dailies is dropping owing to the drastic reduction of the people's purchasing power within the great economic difficulties we are facing. After I had read the invitation sent to me by Spokesman Traian Chebeleu, in which it was announced that the president wishes to discuss the social, political, and economic problems of the country with the directors and chief editors of the major dailies, I thought that perhaps Ion Iliescu wishes to learn, in a direct way, from the representatives of public opinion, about what is actually going on in this country. This proved to be a vain illusion. It was merely an illusion of mine stemming from my conviction that not only in the case of democracies, but also in dictatorships, the heads of state feel the need to be well informed about the large- or small-scale changes taking place in reality. If for no any other reason, then just because the careers of all heads of states who have neglected this have ended tragically. In this sense, Nicolae Ceausescu is a very good example. However, Ion Iliescu did not want to learn anything from us. First, because he did not summon us to Cotroceni for us to tell him what we think he should do, but rather for him to tell us what he thinks we should do. From this point of view, all the time, I had the impression that I was not attending a meeting with President Ion Iliescu, but rather with the propaganda secretary Ion Iliescu. That is, what we were attending was actually not a dialogue, but rather a meeting (I must admit, with mineral water and Coca-Cola being served, and every now and then we were also allowed to utter a few words) in which we were given precious recommendations. On how to be more profound. On how we could become more polite to the presidential institution. On how we should cease to resort to querelle in the press. (This French word, meaning "quarrel," seems to be Ion Iliescu's latest linguistic acquisition). Second, the president did not wish to learn anything from us about what is happening in the country, because he is firmly convinced that he knows everything that is happening currently. That the decline in production has been stopped. That we managed to survive without foreign financing. That the Vacaroiu government is the best conceivable one in the whole wide world. How about the rest? The rest is nothing but malevolent things claimed by his adversaries. By the opposition. By the press. Recently, I discussed the situation in the country with many politicians. Not solely those of the opposition, but also with those belonging to the rulers. Throughout those talks, I have never experienced a denser opaqueness with respect to the signals coming from the outside than the one displayed by the president during our Monday meeting. All our attempts trying to tell him that the people are leading a rough life, that prices are extremely high, that the phenomenon of corruption is expanding, and that the state institutions are anything but open, were received by him with a sullen distress akin to animosity. I am quite certain that, while listening to our warnings, Ion Iliescu was trying to figure out to which occult, destabilizing force the speaker belonged to. Thus, after two years, I now found a person who has definitively locked himself up in the tower of his own truths. A man living among statistical figures and abstract truths, a man who is unreachable even by the slightest breeze from the outside. A man to be pitied, in a way.

Srpska Prime Minister Lukic Resigns

LD2503221294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the Srpska republic, this evening tendered his resignation to the post of prime minister. At the 39th session of the Srpska republic assembly, which was held behind closed doors this afternoon, Lukic left Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, to decide about his mandate. His resignation followed a report on and an assembly discussion of the work of ministries. The assembly ended its two-day session this evening.

Srpska Assembly Discusses Future of Government

AU2503160894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Report by Mirjana Kusmuk]

[Text] The assembly of the Srpska republic has continued its session in Pale. SRNA journalist Mirjana Kusmuk reports:

[Kusmuk] The 39th session of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic continued in Pale at about 1100 this morning. After government ministers presented their reports, the deputies started to debate them behind closed doors. During the 15-minute break, the president of the Srpska republic [Radovan Karadzic] expressed a doubt in the replacement of the government, assuming that the assembly will decide to reshuffle it soon. The government will be made more dynamic and new posts will be created, those of deputies and assistants. The government will also be requested to work faster. This will have to produce results, Karadzic said.

The assembly of the Srpska republic should today send a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali regarding the UN decision to send Turkish troops to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to Karadzic, judging by the prevailing mood in the assembly, the aforementioned letter will also contain a statement that by adopting this decision the Security Council has assumed responsibility for yet another dangerous precedent in the case of the former Yugoslavia, and that this represented the most direct responsibility for the possible spread of the war.

Commenting on the platform for the continuation of the peace negotiations adopted yesterday, Karadzic stressed that the Serbian side would continue to negotiate with the Croats and the Muslims on some kind of links under certain conditions, but that it will not agree to the imposition of any solutions.

A doubt was expressed that the conditions existed for our entry in the Muslim-Croat federation. However, we have not received any official offer to join them, Karadzic said.

The assembly session is still in progress. The reports of the republican ministries are being discussed behind closed doors.

Government Adopts Federation Constitution

LD2703173194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] At its session today, presided over by Dr. Haris Silajdzic, the government adopted the report by the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the negotiations and the signing of the Washington agreement.

The government examined and adopted the draft Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the drafts of other documents stemming from the Washington agreement. The government decided to recommend the adoption of the document to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly.

At its session today the government also examined the draft of a preliminary agreement between the U.S. Government and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on economic, technical, and other forms of assistance.

Silajdzic Comments on Agreement

LD2503234694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Excerpts] A two-day session of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] opened in Sarajevo today. In addition to the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Alija Izetbegovic, and presidency members, the session was attended by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, government members, Reis-ul-Ulema Mustafa Efendija Ceric, our ambassadors in foreign countries, commanders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army corps, and other eminent guests and members of the SDA's main committee. Alija Izetbegovic announced at the session that he was returning to lead the Party of Democratic Action. [passage omitted]

At the extended session of the SDA's main committee, which is some kind of convention, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic spoke about another important topic: Bosnia-Herzegovina today and tomorrow and Bosniak Muslims in it.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] I would like to stress that the [Washington] agreement is not the result only of the negotiations held in the past two months in Frankfurt, Vienna, and Washington, but primarily of the readiness of our people to persist on the path which demands great sacrifices—that is it is a result of the sacrifices of our people—of the army's readiness to respond to the aggression successfully, and, of course, of the principled policy implemented by the state leaders throughout that period, including intensive diplomatic activity, which was, for understandable reasons, not always publicly announced.

I would like to stress that the agreement does not suspend, and does not even bring into the question, the existing international and legal status of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. The adoption of the constitution of the federation, which was drafted as part of the (?conclusive) agreements, will have no impact on this. The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina remains—as an internationally recognized state—the only legal and legitimate entity in the peace process on this area.

Of course, if the so-called Serb side joins the agreement, the federation will be established throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and its international status will be indisputable because this is an internal transformation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the Serb side does not accept the agreement, the process of searching for a peaceful solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue, and in that process the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its bodies retain the status which they have had so far.

Consequently, the establishment of the federation in the areas inhabited by a majority Bosniak and Croat population does not automatically mean that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina ceases to exist. I am stressing this because many people wondered whether the establishment of the federation abolishes the international status of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

At the end of the lengthy explanation of the Washington agreement, Silajdzic talked about a number of important goals to which this document will open the way for the Bosniak people.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] First, the agreement means the defeat of the strategy of Serb aggressors who counted on a split between Bosniaks and Croats, and who benefited most from the conflict.

The agreement also means the defeat of the exponents of extreme Croat nationalism, i.e., the victory of those political forces among the Croatian people who realized that the conflict was detrimental to the interests of both Croats and Bosniaks.

Third, by overcoming the conflict and reaching an agreement, we have struck a very important strategic balance which considerably restricts the activities of aggressive Serb nationalism, turning it into a [word indistinct] political project without a future.

Fourth, the agreement is an important step toward removing the consequences of ethnic cleansing. It creates legal and political prerequisites for the return of all refugees in the territory of the federation and the implementation of this agreement will create realistic conditions for this to be achieved.

Fifth, the agreement is also important from the point of view of prospects for the fastest possible return of refugees and this is exceptionally important for Bosniaks.

Sixth, the constitutional principles contained in the agreement and decisions in principle regarding the political and territorial organization of the federation do not allow for the fragmentation of natural and economic entities which is of far-reaching economic and political importance.

Eighth [as heard], the agreement contains solutions which allow for the effective and economically purposeful exploitation of major natural resources, not restricting them within a narrow regional framework.

Ninth, the access to the sea is being resolved in a way which is acceptable to both sides, which is of vital importance for us.

Tenth, the agreement considerably strengthens our position in a future peace process, i.e., it strengthens our ability to later resolve the issue of the occupied territories, as well as the issue of the Bosniaks living outside the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Eleventh, the agreement above all means the reaffirmation of a positive attitude toward the Bosniaks and it means accepting the Bosniaks as a nation which belongs to the European community of nations and which has its place in global relations.

Twelfth, taken as a whole, the agreement opens up realistic prospects for the survival and development of the Bosniak people, instead of the destruction and extermination which had been intended for us. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Reelected Ruling Party President

LD2703090494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] Late last night, at a session of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, was reelected president of this party, the SDA main committee's press service reports.

[Name indistinct] director of the electricity board, Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic were elected vice presidents.

Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic was elected chairman of the Main Committee, and Mirsad Ceman was elected the party's secretary.

The new members of the SDA Executive Committee are: Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic; Mehmed Corhodzic, director of [name indistinct] from Travnik; Mirhad Haracic, director of the Institute for Transfusion; Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency; Izudin Kapetanovic, dean of the faculty of electrical engineering in Tuzla; Salih Karabic, a lawyer from Sarajevo; Safet Orucevic, deputy commander of the Fourth corps of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]; Aida Smaic,

president of the Maglaj war presidency; Zahim Beganovic, director of the Zenica hospital; and finally Mirvana Hadzimuratovic, president of the Vares Municipal Assembly.

The Supervisory Commission and the Court of Honor were also elected at the session.

Sixteen members of the main committee were relieved of their duties becuase of inability to work, resignations, or activity deemed contrary to the party's program.

Thirty-three new members of the Main Committee were elected in a secret ballot, including Fikret Muslimovic, assistant head of the Department for Morale; Nedzad Ibrisimovic, director of a clinical center in Sarajevo; and writer Munever Imamovic, minister of reconstruction; Finance Minister Sead Kreso; and Abdulah Nakas, director of the Sarajevo state hospital.

Says Territory Must Be Recaptured

LD2503211094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] [Announcer] A two-day session of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] opened in Sarajevo. In addition to the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Alija Izetbegovic, the session is being attended by representatives of the highest state bodies and political, religious, and military life of the city and the state.

In a report on the work of the SDA so far, Party Chairman Mirsad Ceman gave a brief summary of the activity of the SDA, one of the rare organizations which was prepared for the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and which contributed fully—in political, military, and all other spheres—to the defense of our homeland and the Bosniak Muslim nation whose political interests it represents. The SDA has fully responded to the historic challenge and it therefore represents a strong political basis and a guarantee for the survival and freedom of the Bosniak Muslims.

Speaking about Bosnia, President Izetbegovic said that good and evil, reason and madness came into conflict here.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I have noticed over the past two years of this war that the world has slowly divided into those who are for and those who are against Bosnia. There are almost no more neutral people. They have either been for or against Bosnia, and no one has remained uninvolved.

When you analyze that division, you can see that everything that was good, thank God, sided with us. I have noticed this speaking, for example, about governments in a country. Their sleek politicians placed themselves on the other side, but the free-thinking people in that country—[word indistinct] all those idealists, romantics, poets, artists—they were all on our side. The whole of the Muslim world was on our side, but that is a special case. Everything good in the Western world sided with us. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] Bosnia will be a country of law and order, Izetbegovic went on to say. At the same time, it will be governed in such a way that a genocide against Bosniak Muslims will never again occur. Despite the fact that they have lost most people for Bosnia's freedom, they will not give up the struggle to recover the captured territories.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Our people currently living in Germany or Croatia must be able to return to their villages near Zvornik. There is no negotiating there. There is no negotiating there. [applause] That is a practical, everyday, political reason. There is also a moral reason. Could we possibly give them [Serbs] those territories as a reward for (?their job) of having killed us—please keep it as a reward. We will not allow that. [end recording]

[Correspondent] As part of the second item of the agenda, which has not started yet, following a report by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic on the recently signed agreement with the Croats, seven more reports will be submitted: on the functioning of state bodies, foreign policy, information, refugees, army, veterans' issues, and economic reconstruction of the country.

Addresses SDA Meeting

LD2603222994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, addressed today's session of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] with the following words:

In our assessment we should prevent the continuation of a war waged on two fronts, which is suffocating us. We have reached the conclusion that one front has to be extinguished, and that it would be better and less painful if it were done with the Croats. True, our wounds are still fresh from the conflict with them, but they are nonetheless lighter than the ones inflicted on us by the Serbs.

It is also important to say that the chetniks' loathsome project had the support of their academicians and the church, which is not the case with the Croatian policy. The Croats did not have the backing of either the church or of a large number of people in Croatia. Fewer people in Croatia have messed things up, Izetbegovic said.

Croat Assembly Considers Washington Agreements

LD2603154594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] In Mostar today the chamber of deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna is discussing the course

and results of the Croat-Bosnian Muslim talks in Washington, Vienna, and Split. It is coordinating the positions the representatives of the Croat people will be advocating at the constituent assembly in Sarajevo on Monday [28 March]. Zdenko Vranjes has the report.

[Vranjes] If we wish to be realistic we will conclude that the solutions agreed and signed in Washington serve the interests of the entire Croat nation, the interests of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the interests of the Republic of Croatia, said Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, speaking in detail about the course and results of the talks. The Croats have attained a high degree of unity in signing the Washington accord; we see the agreement as binding, and we are ready to translate what we have signed into practice, Zubak said. He called on the deputies to adopt the constitution at the assembly in Sarajevo.

If we manage to elect experts and capable people to responsible posts in the municipalities, grand counties [velezupe], and the federation, then Bosnia-Herzegovina, with constitutional guarantees, will remain a homeland of the Croat people in the future, Zubak said. He added that by accepting the Washington accord, a turnabout was made by those who called for a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina and not those who suggested from the very beginning that Bosnia-Herzegovina be a federal state in which the Croat people would be equal and state-building.

Zubak also said in his opening address that the solutions from Washington were not imposed ones but that it was obvious that it would have been extremely unfavorable for the Croat people if the agreement had not been signed.

Before the debate the deputies were informed about the positions taken by the Presidency of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, positions that were adopted by the HDZ parliamentary group prior to the session of the chamber. The HDZ extended full support to the documents signed and called on the HDZ deputies to persevere in the adoption of the draft constitution and the election of the federation's president and vice president in the interim period at the assembly in Sarajevo. In view of the fact that the Bosnia-Herzegovina president, in his extended term in office, came from the ranks of the Bosnian Muslim people, the HDZ presidency insists that the federation's Presidency in the interim period be a Croat and that the interim government's prime minister be a Muslim. The HDZ proposes that the constituent assembly elect Kresimir Zubak president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation.

The HDZ Presidency also charged all the bodies of authority in Herceg-Bosna with the task of creating conditions for the implementation of the agreement and to strengthen functions and institutions which, in conformity with the constitution, are to remain intact until a final and overall decision on the fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina is reached. The deputies were also informed that the Croat deputies at the constituent assembly in Sarajevo will be headed by Ivan Bender, assembly deputy and president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and that Ivo Zivkovic has been appointed as his deputy. This proposal was adopted by the HDZ parliamentary group at this morning's session. A debate on this subject is under way and this part of the session of the Chamber of Deputies is off limits to reporters.

The agenda of the chamber of deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna also includes several important draft laws—the laws on defense, internal affairs, refugees, and displaced persons, and health care.

The session is also attended by guests from the Republic of Croatia, HDZ officials Ivan Milas and Gojko Susak.

Bosnian Croats Approve Federation Constitution

LD2603200094 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Excerpts] We begin the news with a report from the session of the chamber of deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, held in Mostar:

Today, in a warm and quiet Mostar, the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna approved the constitution of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and tasked the Croat deputies—members of the constituent assembly [of Bosnia-Herzegovina]—with approving the constitution at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session in Sarajevo on 28 March. [passage omitted]

Following the opening speeches, the discussions were held behind closed doors. A committee for monitoring the discussion this evening proposed the following conclusions: To form a delegation of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, comprising Kresimir Zubak, Jadranko Prlic and General Ante Roso, which will attend the work of the constitutent assembly in Sarajevo on Monday, in addition to the deputies. A body for conducting political talks with the Muslim side on all issues is also to be formed, and will include Kresimir Zubak, Ivo Zivkovic, Perica Jukic, and Ivica Lucic.

In addition to these items, the agenda of the Chamber of Deputies includes several draft laws. Discussion is under way.

Bosnian, Croat Commanders Sign Agreement

LD2603163194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] Army General Rasim Delic, chief of general staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and Colonel General Ante Roso, chief of general staff of the Croat Defense Council [HVO], signed an agreement in Sarajevo today

on the organization of the joint command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO. The agreement defines the organization and tasks of the joint commands in the interim period, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army press center reports. It was agreed that joint commands in sectors and military districts should become operational as soon as possible. According to the agreement the organization of the federal army, i.e., the army of the federation, will follow immediately after the proclamation of the federal constitution.

U.S. Envoy Meets With Izetbegovic

LD2703185494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] We have just learned that late this afternoon Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, received Charles Redman, U.S. President Clinton's special envoy. They held talks for almost two hours. Nedzad Leko has a report.

[Leko] Following the talks with Charles Redman, President Izetbegovic told journalists the following:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] As you can see, you waited for a long time. We had rather long talks. This was one in a series of talks on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, on restoring peace. This is a kind of search for solution to the problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Of course, we touched on the unavoidable question of territories. We also mentioned the problem of Sarajevo and Mostar. We agreed that, as far as Sarajevo and Mostar are concerned, we will proceed with the planned solution, that is, the administration of Sarajevo by the United Nations and of Mostar by the European Community. I think that we will stick to these solutions. (?Representatives of the EC) have already visited Mostar and I believe that Mostar representatives will go to Brussels as early as next week to resume talks.

We are, therefore, still searching for a peaceful solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and these talks are part of the efforts in that direction. I believe that they were very constructive and useful. [end recording]

[Leko] Speaking about the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament session tomorrow and the Assembly of Citizens of Serb Nationality in Sarajevo today, Charles Redman said:

[Begin Redman recording, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] All of these meetings are very important. They demonstrate that the political leadership in Bosnia is actively involved in the search for a solution for the future. As the president said, there are many issues on our agenda. Many of those things refer to a short-term improvement in living conditions, the improvement of the situation in Sarajevo, Mostar, and other areas in Bosnia, but we all know that we have (?an important task), which is to try to find a comprehensive solution to this war through talks. That is a very difficult issue. (?The president) has been dealing with it for months. I know that the Bosnian Government is permanently committed to this aim, and I believe that the Bosnian Croats are also interested in that, as we can see from the agreement on the federation which will be discussed tomorrow at the [Bosnian] parliament session. I hope that there is the same type of constructive standpoint among the Bosnian Serbs.

It is only through a joint action by all three sides that we will reach an effective and acceptable solution. These meetings are an important part of that process. I have heard a lot of encouraging statements at today's meeting of Citizens of Serb Nationality, and I hope that the session of the Bosnian parliament tomorrow will be equally encouraging. [end recording]

[Leko] Asked about the decision of the self-proclaimed parliament in Pale to refuse to join the Bosniak-Croat Federation, and whether he considered that decision final, Charles Redman said:

[Begin Redman recording] I do not know whether that is the final decision. We have known since the meeting in Geneva last August that the Bosnian Serbs wanted a high degree of autonomy. That led to the idea of a constitutional union which will preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina, but which will give its constituent parts a high degree of autonomy [words indistinct]. I have not heard anything from any side here in Bosnia that indicates that they want something else. So, while the Serbs perhaps do not want to become member of the federation in the same way that the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Government organized themselves, I heard nothing that indicates that they would not be interested in the idea of a constitutional union which preserves Bosnia. [end recording]

Izetbegovic, Mesic Comment on 28 Mar Talks

AU2803161894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic received in Sarajevo today the delegation of the Croatian Parliament headed by Parliament Chairman Stipe Mesic. In the course of the meeting, Izetbegovic and Mesic spent a long time discussing the most topical issues concerning relations between the two countries.

The Croatian delegation—currently visiting Sarajevo on the invitation of Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic, and for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session—comprises representatives of several parliamentary parties. In addition to Stipe Mesic, Damir Zoric, deputy chairman of the Croatian Parliament's House of Districts [Zupanijski dom], and deputies in the Croatian Parliament's House of Representatives [Zastupnicki dom] Muhamed Zulic, Pavao Tomislav Duka, and Josip Pankretic are present.

After the meeting and talks in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Stipe Mesic, chairman of the Croatian Parliament, and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, gave the following statements to the many domestic and foreign correspondents.

[Begin Mesic recording] The Croatian delegation—or to put it more precisely—the delegation of the Croatian Parliament has come to attend the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session. We come as friends. This is a historical moment which reflects the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the only guarantee of peace in Europe and the world. The world is returning to its principles—the principles of the inviolability of borders—and this moment and the events in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly are effective confirmation of these principles. If the borders were to be changed by force, new aggressors would appear tomorrow. Why should the Serbs alone have the privilege of living in one state and in the name of this be allowed to take other peoples' territories? There would be others who would demand this privilege, and then the world would no longer stand a chance. Therefore, the return to these principles is a guarantee of peace, and I believe that we are now much closer to peace than we were earlier because the world has realized that this is no longer about Bosniak Muslims, Croats, or Serbs. This is about European and world peace. That is why they are now solving this as their problem and not our problem. [end recording]

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] [Words indistinct] Mr. Mesic who is well-known as a friend of Bosnia-Herzegovina, [words indistinct]. I remember him from our meetings in Belgrade, where he always came up with a constructive position regarding Bosnia- Herzegovina. We, of course, discussed relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the essential thing I can accentuate is [word indistinct] that the maintenance of a unitary Bosnia- Herzegovina is not only in the interest of Bosnia-Herzegovina but also in Croatia's interest. Mr. Mesic (?wholeheartedly) confirmed this in the course of our discussion. Of course, the talks will continue with the delegation of the (?Croatian) Parliament. We were very glad to see that the Croatian delegation is a multiparty delegation. (?We have) the representatives of (?three) parties here. [Words indistinct] and we talked about opening a Croatian embassy here in Sarajevo. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Meets With Iranian Envoy

LD2703223294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today had talks with Mohammad Javad Asayesh-Zarebi, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Bosnia-Herzegovina, about the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the relations between the two countries. After the talks Ambassador Asayesh-Zarebi and President Izetbegovic made the following statements:

[Asayesh-Zarebi, in Persian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "We had very useful talks with President Izetbegovic. We are hoping that the initiated peace talks will bring peace. The Islamic Republic of Iran is pleased with the newly developing situation, [words indistinct] why it had not been done earlier. The negotiations that were conducted between Muslims, Croats, and Serbs should end with real peace. We are hoping that the borders are not going to be changed. We would like to thank the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and the presidency since they are trying hard to [word indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina as little as possible."

[Izetbegovic] "I had talks with Iranian Ambassador Mohammad Javad Asayesh-Zarebi; first of all, I informed him about the last round our of negotiations, about the Washington agreement. I am pleased to have concluded that Iran also supports our efforts to that effect, which is a path toward the restoration of peace here. We also examined what Iran can do in that direction in the light of its good relations with Russia.

"We also discussed a number of issues directly in connection with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iran. I thanked Iran, the Iranian Government, and the people for their support and aid that they have been giving to our country [words indistinct]. In that regard Iran right from the outset [passage indistinct]."

Meets With Army Leaders

LD2703211194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, held a meeting in Sarajevo today with the top military leadership and the top representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs led by Army General Delic and Interior Minister Alispahic. The meeting was also attended by General Enver Hadzihasanovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army chief of staff brigadier, corps commanders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and the commander of special units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The following issues of importance for further development of the armed forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were examined at the meeting:

—The organizational set-up of the army of the federation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in line with the Washington agreement and military agreements signed in Split, Zagreb, and Sarajevo;

—Material support for the development of the armed forces and the search for appropriate solutions for training and strengthening all segments of defense of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina;

—Resolution of the status of war invalids and families of fallen soldiers.

The military top leadership and the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs gave their full support to Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, in his further political activities aimed at the founding of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They unequivocally supported the standpoint that territories taken by force and ethnically cleansed areas where genocide was perpetrated must be returned.

Other current issues were discussed at the meeting, on which the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs expressed the same views.

Krajisnik Asserts Serb Right to Sarajevo

LD2703180294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—"We cannot claim what is not ours, but on the other hand, no one can take away from us what our ancestors created and what has been given to us to preserve and cherish," Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Srpska republic parliament, said today at a formal session of the Srpska assembly of Novo Sarajevo municipality. He added that, as a city, Serb Sarajevo was built on Serb areas and that Serbs have a right to it.

Thanking everyone who helped Serb Sarajevo preserve freedom and remain Serb, Krajisnik stressed that the struggle is not over yet, and that Serb enemies are still claiming the right to that part of the Serb ethnic territory. Krajisnik repeated that Serbs will not enter any kind of federation with Croats and Muslims, and that they will decide where and with whom to live on the basis of their right to self-determination. "We allow others to do everything we want to do, and if we are to be blamed for that, then we are guilty," Krajisnik said.

"Great pressure will be exerted on us to make further concessions. We can negotiate and find a compromise solution, but only so far as this will not threaten the minimum of our national interests. We cannot go below that, and we do not have the right to do that," Krajisnik said.

The deputies in the Srpska assembly of the Novo Sarajevo municipality and guests at today's formal session paid tribute to more than 1,200 victims—half of whom were civilians—who have fallen in defense of that part of Serb Sarajevo.

Warns Against Deployment of Turks

LD2503232694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2258 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic, this evening sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, stressing that "a year ago the Srpska republic assembly passed a decision that no foreign army can enter its territory without the parliament's permission."

"Sending a Turkish military contingent to Bosnia would set a precedent which the Security Council should not accept, and should certainly not be the one to set it, because Turkey has failed to keep the necessary neutrality during the civil war in Bosnia, and it even openly sided with the Muslim side. In addition, Turkey is a country whose centuries-long occupation-style rule of this region is still alive in the memory of the Serb nation," the letter stresses.

Deputies of the Srpska republic's people's assembly believe, it is stated, that this decision is morally and humanly impermissible, and that it would be counterproductive for the peace process.

"The Srpska republic assembly charged me with warning you of fatal consequences of that action," Krajisnik stresses in his letter.

Karadzic Threatens Counteroffensive

LD2703114694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1104 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] Banja Luka, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, said at a meeting today with the Banja Luka municipal committee of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] that the Muslims' large-scale spring offensive, which has already begun, must be halted.

"If they (the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army) do not stop the offensive, I will order a counteroffensive and they will not be able to obtain the territories they could obtain through political negotiations," Karadzic said. He added: "There is no way they can get the territories where they are now killing our people."

Karadzic believes the international community will soon exert more pressure to stop the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Maglaj Croats Sever Ties With Serbs

AU2603200194 Paris AFP in English 1932 GMT 26 Mar 94

[By Michel Viatteau]

[Text] Maglaj, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 26 (AFP)—Bosnian Croats have severed their ties with their erstwhile Serb allies, with whom they had until recently been besieging the Moslem-held northern Bosnian town of Maglaj, a British UN officer said here Saturday.

Following the signing of the Croat-Moslem federation agreement in Washington March 18, the Croats had "found a means to convince" the Serb forces around Maglaj to leave, Major Richard Margesson, commander of British UN troops in Maglaj, said.

In Zepce, 18 kilometres (12 miles) south of Maglaj, a resident, who requested anonymity, said the Croat forces had simply paid off the Serbs, although it was not known if it was payment in kind or cash.

Margesson said that in the summer of 1993 the Croats in Zepce had feared they would not be able to repulse Bosnian army offensives coming from Zenica, Zavidovici and Maglaj. They "made an agreement" with the local Serb forces, who sent them several hundred soldiers in return for food, the chance to evacuate their sick and wounded, some military material and also cash, he said.

The Serb lines are still clearly visible 600 metres (yards) from the town centre, up on a hillside overlooking the city. From time to time, shots ring out, though not as frequently as before. On Friday, when a sniper targetted a British UN patrol, the UN shot back with 30-mm cannon fire, curtailing, at least for a while, further attacks. Since last Monday, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has brought humanitarian aid convoys into the town and public soup kitchens, operating for the past two years, have started to wind down their aid operations as more people are able to cook for themselves at home. Rocket and mortar fire, which mark the walls of every building, only stopped 10 days ago. But despite the haunted looks in most people's eyes, the grim expressions, the lack of smiles, it seems as if the city is starting to breath again. Daniel de Schryver, head of mission for the Medecins sans Frontieres (Doctors without Borders) aid group, said the arrival of aid in the town had acted as a tremendous psychological boost.

Serbs Reportedly Attack Tesanj Hospital

AU2803150494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Report by Mirudin Aldobasic from Tesanj]

[Text] From their well-known strongholds, the chetniks launched several hundred shells at the Tesanj field hospital. Schools and other civilian buildings in Tesanj were also shelled one after another. We have as yet no information on the casualties.

In the Tesanj area, and in the area of the free territories of Doboj and Teslic, the population is in shelters. The joint units of the 7 South Operative Group are decisively and courageously defending their positions. The villages of the free territories in this area, particularly Grlic, Planje, Kalosevic, Mijonac, and Krakov, are [words indistinct]. Therefore, the aggressor is not giving up on his criminal intentions aimed at capturing these free territories, particularly the Doboj-Teslic road communication.

Muslim Clashes With Serbs, Croats Continue

LD2603141194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1333 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Pool report]

[Text] Bileca, March 26 (TANJUG)—Members of the Bosnian Croat Army on Saturday continued attacks on Moslem-controlled parts of Mostar using grenade launchers and rifles with telescopic sights, Moslem radio said, quoting a statement by the information service of the fourth Bosnian Moslem army corps.

Croat-Moslem conflicts in the south of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and in its central parts continue despite the agreement signed by representatives of these two peoples to form a federal state in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was signed in Washington on March 18, under strong pressure from the United States. Members of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) on Saturday morning set fire to a nursery school in Mostar, said a Moslem army statement. Five civilians were wounded on Friday in mortar attacks by ustashi, as the Sarajevo Radio reporter called the local Croat troops. The command of the 4th corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army (the Bosnian Moslem army) has rejected explanations by Croats that some 'extremist elements of the HVO' are violating the truce. Moslem units in the fronts in the wider region of Serb-controlled Doboj in northeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, continued offensive actions, this time against both Serb defence positions and villages, the information service of the First Krajina Corps of the Bosnian Serb army said on Saturday Morning. Bosnian Serb troops on Saturday managed to repulse an infantry attack by the Moslems northeast of Serb-controlled Teslic in northern Bosnia. An attempt by a Moslem subversive-terrorist group to penetrate deep into Serb territory in this part of the Teslic front was successfully thwarted, and two Moslem infantry attacks on the southern and southeastern sectors of the Trebava front were repulsed. Moslem forces on Saturday also launched mortar attacks against Serb villages on the right bank of the river Bosna.

Strong Moslem attacks using mortars, anti-aircraft and infantry weaponry were recorded in the night between Friday and Saturday from their positions some 20km northwest of Zvornik, a town in northeastern Bosnia which is on the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Bosnian Serb troops returned strong fire to protect their positions. There were no casualties on the Serb side, the sources said. Moslems attacked Serb positions in the area of Konjic, Foca and Cajnice (southeastern Bosnia) with infantry and anti-aircraft weaponry from the wider region of Gorazde, the information service of the Herzegovina Corps said on Saturday.

Serbs Continue To Attack Bihac, Travnik, Olovo

AU2803110694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 28 March within its regular seven-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in the republic.

Mirza Sadikovic reports from Bihac that "the (?Serbian) aggressor continued to attack the front lines of the Bihac region last night and this morning. A particular [word

indistinct] is on the Grmusko-Srbljanski Height—that is, the Hasin Vrh—where they attempted new infantry breakthroughs, which our defenders managed to reject. Artillery and antiaircraft weapon activity is incessant on the Bihac, Bosanska Krupa, and (Budzin) sections of the front. Sniper activity has become more intensive since this morning and chetnik regroupings have been observed.

"There is no peace on the lines of separation with the paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomy. In the Cazin regions of Krivaja, Crnac, and Liskovac, they were [word indistinct] with mortar and mountain guns and provoking infantry clashes all the time." The 3d Corps Press Center reports the "more frequent defeats on the battlefield were a reason for the chetnik artillery to retaliate on the defense lines and civilian targets. This time they recorded a defeat on (Terijsko) battlefield, where fighters of the Bosnian Army repressed them by 1 kilometer at Debelo Brdo. Mortar bombs of 82 and 120 mm fell on Zeljezno Polje and the defense lines. An enemy recoilless gun and a Bofors gun were used to pound defense lines. The only consequence was material damage. Chetniks were frequently hitting civilian targets in Krusac: five shells were launched from (Bornici) and inflicted new damages on buildings. Two shells launched from Kalinovac fell on Travnik yesterday afternoon but fortunately had no consequences."

Hamiz Deronjic reports that "the situation on the Brcko battlefield was somewhat calmer compared to the past several days. At the moment, the Serbian aggressor has resorted to artillery operations from a safe distance, which are regularly accompanied by antiaircraft and antiarmor weapons with intensive work by chetnik snipers. Last night, enemy 60- and 82-mm mortars were most active from the direction of Sekulici, Stari Brod, and Cadjevac and were pounding Brcko defense lines on Djukici, Kladje, at the Omerbegovaca-Vranovaca line, and the central battlefield section. Air space in the Bijeljina, Brcko, and Pelagicevo is still the most used for enemy aircraft. At 2000 last night, Serbian transport helicopters were flying overhead."

Amira Salibasic reports that "the free Olovo territory was the target of occasional artillery attacks yesterday. The morning passed with provocative enemy attacks from (?infantry) weapons, while in the evening, the aggressor intensified his attacks by using long-range arms."

Serbs Stop U.S. Humanitarian Convoy to Sarajevo

AU2503202094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] A convoy of the U.S. humanitarian organization (CRS) was stopped today along one of the recently opened blue roads from Visoko to Sarajevo at a control point of the Serbian aggressor's side near Ilijas. The reason the convoy was stopped, according to the announcement by the Information Ministry, was the demand by the Serbian side to be given 30 percent of the goods from the convoy as a toll for passing through the territory under its control.

Such a gesture by the Serbian side at a time when the international community is exerting new efforts to find a peaceful solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina not only shows that these efforts are being ignored but that the aggressor has no intention of renouncing its blackmailing methods. By making it impossible for a convoy to pass through, one threatens the freedom and rights established by the agreement on opening blue corridors and thereby the basic principles of international humanitarian rights, it is said, among other things, in the information issued by the Information Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serb Soldiers Refusing To Go to Front Lines

AU2503122994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Report by Hamiz Deronjic from Brcko]

[Text] [Word indistinct] enemy air force, despite the resolutions of the UN Security Council, is constantly using the air corridors above temporarily occupied Brcko [words indistinct] chetnik pilots. At 1830 last night a Serbian helicopter that was flying on the Bjeljina-Pelagicevo route approached our positions and this [words indistinct] fire was opened. [Words indistinct] seriously damaged it was forced to land in temporarily occupied Brcko.

The demonstration of power of the enemy artillery on the Brcko plain in the absence of any attempts of infantry breakthroughs over the last few days reveals another chronic problem of the aggressor—lack of manpower and low morale. According to our reliable sources, the chetnik soldiers on temporarily occupied Brcko territory, who have long been refusing to go to the front lines or into attacks, are now demanding that their commanders walk in front of them, because their commanders, infected with a feverish desire for military rank and prestige, have been marching them across minefields to satisfy their own ambitions.

UN Report Says Serbs Shelled Bugojno

LD2503161094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Srbobran, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—The command of the Srpska republic army has vehemently denied UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] report, made public in Zagreb today, according to which the mortar shell that landed this morning on the base belonging to UNPROFOR's British battalion in Bugojno had been fired from Serb positions. The command asserts that the Srpska republic army did not respond when Muslim forces this morning shelled Srbobran from positions in the direction of Bugojno, which is 12 km away. In reaction to UNPROFOR's report on the wounding of two British soldiers in Bugojno, Serb military sources in

Srbobran claim that this was a result of the inter-Muslim fighting that has been going on in Bugojno over the past few days.

Serb Authorities Return Stolen UN Aid Trucks

AU2503175894 Paris AFP in English 1619 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs authorities returned to the UN nine aid trucks hijacked two days ago by their troops near Maglaj, northern Bosnia, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said Friday [25 March]. The UNHCR said earlier it expected the trucks to be driven back to Banja Luka, northern Bosnia, by Bosnian Serb soldiers.

On Wednesday [23 March], around 100 Serb soldiers stole the trucks as they approached Maglaj carrying 94 tonnes of foodstuffs and medicines destined for the town's beleagured population. A 10th truck, stolen with the others, was found shortly afterwards and returned to UNHCR control. The trucks had been hijacked in the town of Teslic, next to Maglaj, and their 10 Danish drivers terrorized before they were released. UN officials said at one point the Danish drivers had been lined up against a wall for what they feared was execution. The drivers were taken by truck to a Serb-Croat front line, from where they had to walk to a Bosnian Croat army post whose soldiers transferred them to a British UN base.

Aid convoys started reaching Maglaj last Sunday [20 March] after a five-month seige by Bosnian Serb forces. In October two Danish drivers of a UNHCR convoy were shot and killed as they entered Maglaj. UN Special Representative to the Former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi protested to the authorities in Pale, the Bosnian Serb stronghold, after the convoy was taken. Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, said the colonel in charge of the soldiers had been stripped of his command, adding that an inquiry had been launched.

Posavina Serbs Attacked in Joint Offensive

LD2803111294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] Zvornik, Bratunac, 28 Mar (TANJUG)—Regular forces of the Croatian Army, units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], and formations of the so-called Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina have begun an all-out offensive against Serbian settlements and Serbian defense lines in Posavina, TANJUG's correspondent has learned from Serbian military sources in the Srpska republic. The VRS [Army of the Srpska republic] sources say that in practice this is not just a continuation of the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but that the war is spreading. The VRS warns that it will resolutely oppose all attacks and defend the territory of the Srpska republic, as well as the historic interests and rights of the Serbian people. The Serbian side has recently obtained information that preparations for the Muslim offensive—the aim of which is to break through to the left bank of the Drina—have entered their final stage. The VRS earlier obtained Muslim plans which in essence envisage the idea of a frontal attack on Podrinje from several directions. Particularly important in these offensives is the attempt by Muslim units to link up with the Raska district and further with Kosovo and Metohija. At the same time, the Serbian military sources say, the Muslims are planning to link together the Muslim enclaves in Podrinje and join them by land with the Tuzla area. Continuous efforts on the part of the Serbian side to achieve peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina by political and not by military means give the best explanation and also shows for whom the only option is war, VRS sources say.

Muslim Forces Seize Serb Strongholds

LD2603174994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Ferocious fighting is in progress along the Tesanj-Teslic front lines and in a wide area around Crni Vrh. Joint units of the Seven-South operational zone are liberating the hitherto occupied territories of the Teslic municipality and linking up with the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 3d Corps in a triumphant operation. Hajrudin Reidzovic reports:

At the time of this report strategic front lines were pushed forward by the capture of a piece of territory 6 km long and 1.5-2 km deep. Important facilities [objekti], which have served as the most important strongholds of the Serb aggressors since the beginning of the war, have been captured: Kuzno Groblje PT 675, Vis Plane PT 677, hill 655, Tresnjev Panj and [name indistinct], name] or hill 497. [sentence as heard] Husar and Omerovo Guvno, notorious chetnik strongholds for the past 22 months, from which they have killed civilians, especially children, are also about to fall.

At this moment our units are advancing relentlessly toward the south and the southwest. This is the collapse of the strategy of war criminal General Mladic. The number of dead aggressor soldiers exceeds 50, and twice as many have been injured and thus taken out of action. A substantial amount of arms and ammunition and military equipment has been seized. [passage omitted]

Unidentified Aircraft Bomb Serb Army Positions

LD2603200994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1908 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] Banja Luka, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—Two unidentified aircraft bombed positions of the army of the Srpska republic today, near Velika Suljaga, 15 km northeast of Kupres, Serb military sources report. After the air attack, members of the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina carried out—from the direction of Bugojno, or rather Mala Suljaga and Glavica—a powerful artillery attack. In the Prusac region, from where artillery has been in

action daily against Kupres and Srbobran, an intensive regrouping of units of the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been observed.

Muslims Launch Attacks on Serbs in Doboj

LD2703104094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1033 GMT 27 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Doboj, March 27 (TANJUG)—In the past 24 hours, Moslem units have been launching severe offensives against Serb defence positions and settlements on all fronts in the wider area of Doboj, Bosnian Serb Army sources said.

The heaviest attacks were recorded on the Teslic front, where Moslem infantry troops attacked from several directions. Bosnian Serb troops managed to halt all attacks and forced the Moslems to retreat, the command of the First Krajina Corps said.

Moslem forces used infantry arms, anti-aircraft guns and grenade launchers to attack Serb positions in the north-eastern part of the Teslic battlefieid. They attacked villages and the town of Teslic with mortars. One civilian was wounded in a shell explosion in Jasenica, and three civilians were wounded in Teslic. Early in the morning on Sunday, Moslem units used mortars to attack Serb positions surrounding the villages of Lukici and Sekulici, eight kilometers to the west of Brcko in northern Bosnia, Banja Luka Army sources said.

Convention of Sarajevo Serbs Concludes

LD2703191494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Excerpts] A convention of citizens of Serb nationality ended in Sarajevo today with the adoption of a declaration expressing the firm will of the Serb people living in the free part of Bosnia-Herzegovina to live in peace in a single Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. [passage omitted]

In its declaration, the convention stresses that no political goals can justify the suffering of innocent population, genocide and ethnic cleansing, particularly suffered by the Bosniak people. It stresses that the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina lies in its independence and sovereignty within the internationally recognized borders. Both the declaration and the proclamation on the convocation of a convention of trust energetically urge the strictest punishment by the international tribunal of all war criminals. The convocation of the convention of trust itself is necessary because interethnic trust will not be restored easily and quickly, while the convention can contribute to this hard and painstaking process. [passage omitted]

Let us just add in conclusion that the convention of the citizens of Serb nationality ended with the election of the Serb Civic Forum [Srpski gradjanski forum]. Mirko Pejanovic was elected president of the 32-member forum.

Tudjman Ousts Manolic From Posts in HDZ

AU2503180294 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 94 p 2

[HINA report: "Josip Manolic Removed as Member of the Croatian Democratic Community Presidency and member of the Central Committee of the Croatian Democratic Community"]

[Text] Zagreb—On the basis of Article 2, Paragraph 33, and in accordance with Article 3, Paragraph 11 of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] Statute, and on the recommendation of the HDZ Presidency and Main Secretariat, HDZ President Franjo Tudjman passed a decision stripping Mr. Josip Manolic of his duties as a member of the HDZ Presidency and a member of the HDZ Central Committee because of his repeated public disagreement with the policy of the HDZ as expressed in Croatian state policy, which contributed to the strengthening of Croatia's international position and internal democratic organization. This decision is also a request for the initiation of legal proceedings before the appropriate court of honor. The decision is effective immediately. This statement was issued by the HDZ on Thursday [24 Mar] afternoon.

Manolic Says Tudjman Opposed to Accord

BR2803130794 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 26-27 Mar 94 p 5

[Report on interview with Josip Manolic, "leader of the Croatian Upper House," by Karin Veraart; place and date not given: "'Tudjman Does Not Want To Implement Accord With Bosnia'"]

[Text] Josip Manolic (72), leader of the Croatian upper house, formed the governing Croatian party, the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], together with present President Franjo Tudjman in 1990. Manolic, the former head of the intelligence service in communist Croatia, represents the moderates. Following the outbreak of fighting between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia in 1993, a split arose between Manolic and Tudjman. On Thursday, Manolic was ousted from the HDZ party leadership and the Central Committee.

"It is a coup," the elderly politician calmly states. "But it is not so much directed against me as against the Washington accord. Under strong pressure from the United States, Tudjman has signed the agreement for a confederation with Bosnia, but he has never for a moment planned to implement the accord."

Politicians from the moderate wing of the HDZ who support the accord also believe that Tudjman saw the removal of the influential Manolic as a way of being free to interpret the agreement as he thinks fit. Last Friday the Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims, and Croatia agreed in Washington to form a federation in Bosnia, later to be enlarged into a confederation with Croatia. Tudjman was himself present at the ceremony, which he later described as a major step toward peace in the former Yugoslavia.

Manolic, an enthusiastic supporter of the confederation plans, went further. The day after the signing he called for the removal of Croatian Defense Minister Susak. This hardliner from Herzegovina is the support and anchor of the Croatian hawks in Herzegovina who are trying to set up their own state in the southwest of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"This man," says Manolic, "is responsible for the senseless, cruel war between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia, it is he who implicated Croatia in this war by sending Croatian troops to the war zone, and he is responsible for the international community's threat to impose sanctions against Croatia due to this military involvement."

"Susak is so pleased with the Washington accord, so pleased that he wished it had never existed. If we want to seriously implement the accord, then Susak must go."

"But Tudjman does not want to get rid of Susak, and does not want any agreement. He is simply afraid of losing Western support for Croatia, of sanctions. As a gesture of goodwill to the international community he replaced the hawk Boban as leader of the Bosnian Croats by the more moderate Zubak."

"An empty gesture," says Manolic. "Zubak is no more than a stand in and the extremists all remain in their posts. Boban was simply the tip of the iceberg. But if you touch Susak the iceberg starts to wobble." The serene politician flared up: "Can you imagine that Susak in an interview with THE JERUSALEM POST, a Jewish newspaper, said the following: 'My father was a ustasha, but not a fascist, he was a patriot.'"

"I knew that I risked coming under fire myself when I called for Susak to go. We had already made a bet on it," he cracks with smile for his adviser Zdenko Svete. Manolic, seated at the head of a large, highly polished table, exudes an air of serenity as he receives congratulations from excited members of Parliament for his tactical move at Friday morning's Senate session.

It had been the intention to move a motion of no confidence in the parliamentary leader at the beginning of the session, but the disorganized MP's missed their opportunity. This formally entitled Manolic to himself determine the time allowed for the vote, with the restriction that it must take place within 30 days. He therefore still has some respite. At the time of this conversation the session has been suspended for one hour. "They are telephoning Tudjman," says Manolic with a grin.

Manolic was once a colleague and personal friend of the Croatian president. In early 1993 things started to go wrong. Then war broke out between the former allies in Bosnia, the Muslims and the Croats, and although Tudjman denied Zagreb's involvement in the war, Manolic

knew better. But support for the "extremists in Herzegovina" was not the only stumbling block in their relationship, he now says.

"I have always openly criticized the judiciary system. The fact that we have only recently achieved independence, that a war is being waged within our borders, are not circumstances which can be used as excuses for the inefficiency of the legal system. We have our extremists in Croatia, and these also include people from the government, from the governing party."

"There is a mentality of grab what you can get, there is a lively black market trade, former public property is being plundered, houses burned, and human rights infringed. Opposition parties have no chance, the media is being strictly controlled by the government. Little is being done to stop any of this and I have repeatedly spoken out against it, but I do not believe that it has been reported in the media."

He therefore reckoned on the possibility that one day he would have to go. Tudjman is and remains the boss. "But the timing is bad," says Manolic. "He is shooting himself in the foot. Tudjman is now showing the outside world exactly what kind of authoritarian leader he is and how he is in fact opposed to the Washington accord. This is the kind of high-handed, undemocratic leader the West is having to deal with."

Krajina President Holds Talks With Galbraith

LD2703170694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] Knin, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—A delegation of the republic of Serb Krajina led by President Milan Martic had talks in Knin today with U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Croatia Peter Galbraith.

Following the talks the U.S. ambassador held a news conference, at which he said that the aim of his visit to Knin was to invite Krajina to join a peace process initiated by the signing of the Washington agreement and to reintegrate into Croatia so that it could join the building of a democratic society and avoid isolation.

As another reason for his visit to Knin, the ambassador mentioned the cease-fire because, as he said, the time for it has come. This is a path, as Galbraith explained, toward reintegration into the Western world, in the political, security, and economic sense, which leads to the building of a democratic society. However, that path and goal is inevitably leading the republic of Serb Krajina, through reintegration, into the Republic of Croatia, the U.S. ambassador said. He added that the first step in that process is a cease-fire, and then economic and other measures leading to reintegration into the Western world.

An alternative for the republic of Serb Krajina is isolation, the U.S. ambassador said. He recalled the U.S. stand that Krajina is a part of Croatia, provided that the people living in the UN-protected areas (a name for the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina) are granted full human rights and a considerable degree of autonomy.

The mentioned process of reintegration into the Western world has also been offered to the Bosnian Serbs through their relations with the Muslim-Croat federation, while such possibilities are open to Serbia and Montenegro as well, the U.S. ambassador said. Dwelling on the last round of cease-fire negotiations in Zagreb and their resumption on Tuesday, Galbraith expressed the hope that an agreement on the cessation of hostilities will be achieved in the light of the fact that both sides—the Croatian and the Krajina sides—have shown flexibility and readiness for a compromise.

President Martic described the talks with the U.S. ambassador as useful. He expressed Krajina's readiness for the restoration of peace. However, as regards the reintegration of Krajina into Croatia, Martic highlighted the well-known principle of the right of a nation to self-determination regardless of U.S. and Russian standpoints, which consider the republic of Serb Krajina part of Croatia.

Martic said that in this regard he proposed a referendum to be held in the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia at which people would say whether they want to live together or not, but added he has no doubts about the negative outcome of such a referendum.

Stresses Right to Self-Determination

AU2703190894 Podgorica TVCG Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Petko Koprivica report from Knin]

[Text] [Koprivica] The United States is committed to the territorial and political integrity of all the parts of the former Yugoslavia, of course with full respect for the fundamental human and civil rights. This was stated in Knin today by Peter Galbraith, U.S. ambassador in Zagreb, after meeting Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Assessing the talks with Ambassador Galbraith as very useful, and stressing that the Krajina Serbs are very interested in a peaceful solution to the conflict with Croatia—but certainly not at Krajina's disadvantage—President Milan Martic said:

[Martic] On our behalf, we expressed our flexibility when it comes to peace. However, we demand flexibility from the other side, from the Republic of Croatia. We are for peace, there is no doubt about that. However, when it comes to the reintegration—we listened to the ambassador concerning the views of the United States and Russia, that the republic of Serbian Krajina has to reintegrate into the Republic of Croatia in a peaceful way. We presented our view, and the view of our people—regardless of the views of the United States and Russia, and the Security Council with its unfavorable

resolutions—that the basic right has to be observed, the right to self-determination, which has to be above those views.

[Koprivica] It is interesting to note that—during the talks with Martic and his associates, and later in front of the reporters—the U.S. diplomat did not even hint at denying the existence of the republic of Serbian Krajina as a state, nor did he reject the right of the Serbian people to self-determination.

Krajina To Raise Issue of 'State Terror'

LD2703161594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] Kragujevac, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—As the talks between the delegations of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Republic of Croatia are about to resume in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb on 29 March, RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic said that the talks will pick up where they have stopped, but added that the Serb side will raise the issue of "organized state terror against Serbs in the Republic of Croatia."

Taking part in the Pecat Vremena program on Kragujevac Radio, Jarcevic said that the Serbian Council nongovernmental organization has established that 14,000 Serbs have been killed in Croatia by personnel of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. This fact speaks of the most serious form of state terror.

"The United Nations and the international community do not see or do not want to see what has been happening on three-quarters of the Croatian territory. As far as they are concerned the source of all evil in the past four years is one-quarter of the territory—the RSK—which clearly shows that the Serbian-Croatian conflict has not been approached in a just manner and that a just solution to the conflict between these two ethnic communities is being avoided."

Jarcevic said that the UN Security Council will be informed about Croatia's state terror against the Serbian people outside the RSK over the next few days. Asked to comment on the new U.S. plan and the Double K formula which conditions the solving of Krajina's autonomy to Kosovo's autonomy, Jarcevic said:

"That is yet another confirmation that people from developed countries do not understand our problems or are trying to realize their strategic goals in the Balkans with that move. No autonomy should be granted to Kosovo because it has been developing since 1945. The Albanians were granted all minority rights guaranteed and recognized in the world, but they did not want to exercise them; they wanted secession from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." "That situation cannot be compared with the situation in the RSK because it was the Serb people who created the AVNOJ [World War II government in Yugoslavia] in Croatia and who entered into an agreement with the Croatian ethnic community in 1944 for both nations to join their territories and create a single union in the federal Yugoslavia; it was stressed that the borders must not sever the link between all Serbs in Yugoslavia, as it was called in 1944 and 1945." [as received]

"We can cite many more examples which will not equate the problems of Kosovo-Metohija with those of the RSK and Croatia, but at the moment everyone is turning a deaf ear to those facts," Jarcevic said.

Federal

Turkish Troops in B-H Could Cause 'Escalation'

LD2503161294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1443 GMT 25 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia warned on Friday that sending Turkish troops to the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina could directly influence further escalation of conflicts in the region.

A decision by U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to accept Turkish troops for the U.N. peacekeeping force in Bosnia-Herzegovina departs from the principle agreed on when UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] was set up that no troops of neighbouring countries, as well as of countries whose presence was not acceptable in these areas for historical reasons, would be deployed in the territory of former Yugoslavia, a statement issued from the Yugoslav Secretariat for Foreign Affairs a copy of which was given to TANJUG said.

The Turkish Ottoman Empire ruled from the 14th until the end of the 19th century in the area which is now former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and then a Slav (predominantly the Serb Orthodox) people had undergone Islamization. Turks ruled much of the Balkans until the early years of this century.

The issued statement warned that by its lack of objectivity and one-sidedness Turkey had a continual negative effect in the areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that was why Turkish troops were unacceptable as part of the U.N. peace-keeping force in Bosnia-Herzegovina on any grounds.

Under the U.N. Charter, the U.N. Security Council and U.N. secretary-general were directly responsible for peace and international security and in case of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they have to do everything possible to reach a lasting peace as soon as possible, and not to contribute to escalation of the conflict, the statement said.

Commentary on Possible Deployment

AU2603215394 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Commentary by Stefan Grubac]

[Excerpts] It has been clear for a long time that the region of the former Yugoslavia is a testing ground for the balance of powers on the new geopolitical map of the world. After the disappearance of the Soviet Union, that is, after the severely impaired might of the second superpower, this balance also disappeared. Unfortunately, the setting of the new balance of powers is being tested on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This is where many values and principles of an epoch have been failing. This is where the principles from Helsinki and the principles of the CSCE have failed. This is where international law has failed. The United Nations could also be buried on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, this institution that—despite many problems—has had the greatest authority in the world for half a century.

Since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, there has been evidence that the United Nations does not have the inner strength to be up to the task. Instead of its own authority, this organization that used to be respected—and, pathos aside, looked up to with hope by a large part of humankind—has become only a shield and an instrument of the most powerful countries in the West, primarily the United States.

The latest decision of Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to allow Turkish troops into Bosnia within the UN peacekeepers is the most obvious indication that the United Nations is no longer capable of abiding by its own principles. The attitude that the neighboring countries of the former Yugoslavia, and countries that historically represented occupying forces here, cannot come as peacekeepers has been ignored. The reactions of Bulgaria and Greece best show what a danger that is to peace not only in former Yugoslavia, but in the entire Balkans. Bulgaria and Greece this time reacted in their own interests. The Security Council is setting a new time bomb, is the reaction in Bulgaria. Greek Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis says that one cannot at the same time be a participant in a clash and the keeper of peace in that clash. This is completely unreasonable, illogical, and dangerous, the Greek defense minister stresses.

A question arises here: Do the most powerful in the international community care about peace in the former Yugoslavia? We have in fact been all along witnesses to a double game, the apparent search for peace and the search for ways to avoid peace. Every time it seemed that peace was at hand, there was parallel action aimed at having the war continue. Therefore the stories that the key to peace lies in Serbia, Yugoslavia, or the Serbian side are stories for the hostile or the politically illiterate and uninformed.

In the shadow of the sensational decision to allow Turkish troops into Bosnia, Germany is creeping back into the Balkans, true, only politically so far. What does the administration of Mostar by the Germans mean? Just the above. Is it not the future of the former Yugoslav republics gradually to fall under the administration of foreign powers under the excuse of bringing peace, which is an age-old political excuse? Because of that hypocrisy—the parallel search for peace and the instigation of war—and to hide that hypocrisy from the their public and voters, those who conduct such a policy need political lies in the world media. But how to explain that to the world public, when the rich managers and brainwashers of that same public manipulate that very public with their media? [passage omitted]

The world has finally understood that Serbia is not an aggressor, but that apart from the others, Serbs, too, live in the former Croatia and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Despite that, the world is gradually learning that the departure of the Serbs from the countries imposed on them by force is not the creation of greater Serbia but a constitution of a smaller Yugoslavia, in continuation of the country that existed for 70 years. [sentence as heard] After all, that is the right that has been given to others, the right that was given to all the nations by United Nations itself. One more time: Is the United Nations to meet the fate of the League of Nations, its predecessor from between the two world wars, which was destroyed by the power struggle between the great powers?

Jovanovic Assesses Talks With French Officials

AU2603204794 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Interview with FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Milorad Komrakov in Paris; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Komrakov] It is important to say that France is the first West European country, a member of the European Union, that has invited a top-level FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] official for a visit. This is all the more significant if one knows that the French foreign minister insisted on the usefulness of such contacts. Mr. Jovanovic, I would like to ask you to assess your visit to France and your talks with the French officials briefly for Radio Television of Serbia.

[Jovanovic] Let me say right away that we are satisfied with this visit and talks with all the French officials both as far as the protocol and the contents are concerned. We have seen everywhere the same regret that the friendship resulting from history and the common faith of our countries in the two World Wars has been seriously disrupted because of the negative policy that France has conducted toward our country, particularly recently. We have also agreed that there is a common interest in repairing the damage as soon as possible, and that the policy should be renewed which—both sides have agreed—is in the interests of both sides and the stability and cooperation in Europe.

On the other hand, we could see that the time was over when our country and its policy were criticized, not to mention other kinds of insinuations, and that we have not heard in these talks any such criticism. On the contrary, there was a lot of emphasis on our views and attitudes concerning the situation and the development of the crisis on the Yugoslav territory, and particularly in connection with Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that sense, it has been made more than implicitly clear to us that our country is seen as an unavoidable factor and respected partner in the joint effort in the search for peace, and not as a country that [word indistinct] or a country that still has to sit on the bench for the accused.

[Komrakov] As we have learned, you insisted with the French foreign minister—as far as Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned—on an equal status and treatment of all the sides, all three warring sides, and of course you again insisted on the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

[Jovanovic] During all these talks, particularly with Mr. Juppe, we pointed out that the European Union owes our country and the Serb side in Bosnia, because of the plan of the European Union itself, the plan that we have accepted, which is very important for the preservation of the credibility of the European Union in our eyes, and the perspective of our continuous partnership cooperation in the search for peace and an overall settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

[Komrakov] Were your French collocutors aware of the fact that it was the French official policy—with some steps and moves—that has contributed to the disruption of the traditionally good relations between France and Serbia?

[Jovanovic] The French side has found it necessary to mention itself some negative acts toward us in the solution of the Bosnian crisis recently. However, at the same time it wants to convince us that it has done so out of good, not bad, intentions toward us, and that their acts have been forced by tactical reasons to avoid an even less favorable development, and to gain ground to exert pressure on the other side, which—by the way—used to be insensitive to outside pressure.

[Komrakov] Thank you for the interview, Mr. Jovanovic.

Kontic Elaborates on 1994 Economic Program

AU2503181294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Report by Brana Filipovic and Radovan Radovanovic]

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic is currently visiting the Timok region. Addressing the leadership of the municipality and the Bor mining and smelting works, the federal prime minister for the first time fully outlined the economic policy for 1994. The government measures will not deviate from Avramovic's program but will actually extend further. Federal Prime Minister Kontic also announced general economic reforms. The federal prime minister was accompanied by [Ministers] Nikola Sainovic and Tomislav Raicevic. Brana Filipovic and Radovan Radovanovic report:

Briefing the Yugoslav prime minister on the development work so far and the plans until 2005, Miroslav Cvetanovic, director general of the Bor copper combine, stressed that despite the sanctions, the Bor and Serbian giant has managed to keep up production in the past two years, utilize 70-80 percent of its capacities, and develop the Cerevo copper mine. The combine invested $40 million of its own money in the mine.

Speaking about the development program, Cvetanovic said that the combine plans to increase its production by one-third by 2005, install a new transportation system on the mine's site, and secure $120 million for a new and extremely modern smelting plant. In a fairly long speech, Radoje Kontic said that the first stage of stabilizing the national currency has been successfully completed.

[Begin Kontic recording] The second stage of implementing the stabilization program, which is just starting, consists of a gradual revival of the total economic activity. Under the total economic activity, I mean the revival of current production and, of course, after that, increase in investment activities.

While preparing the economic policy for 1994, the federal government in fact accepted as its basis the concept and tenets contained in the program for reconstructing the monetary system and the strategy of the economic recovery of Yugoslavia, which was drafted by a group of experts led by Dr. Avramovic. However, in doing so, the federal government also borne in mind the analyses and assessments of the relevant federal ministries on the current economic and social situation in the country, the stands of the Economic Council of the federal government on the concept of the economic policy for 1994, as well as the views expressed in the program for macro-economic stabilization prepared by the (?CESMECON) Center for Economic Studies under the leadership of Professor Oskar Kovac.

The level of liberalization of our macroeconomic policies in 1994 is certainly not below the average level of this liberalization in the so-called developed market economies. One of the particularly important tenets of the economic policy for 1994 is the free but loyal competition of goods, services, knowledge, ideas, work force, and so forth. Those making business decisions will bear the risk and be completely responsible for business failures and losses.

In my view, it would be realistic to expect a further fall in prices in the period ahead. The direct consequence of slashing hyperinflation is the stabilization of the exchange rate of both the new and old dinar, their consolidation at a certain level, although I must say that some attempts have been made to destabilize the dinar through various speculative activities, the gray economy, and the evasion of obligations to society, through the so-called interest rate premiums [sticung], and so forth.

However, the additional measures of the economic policy, I would say, have successfully countered all these attempts, at least in the past two months, and the exchange rate of both the old and the new dinars has remained the same in the past two months. [end recording]

Radoje Kontic also said that the reasons for the poor economic results in the past should not only be sought in the monetary policy but also in the structural problems of the economy. In connection with this, he announced new systemic solutions and a new economic ambience. Radoje Kontic and his aides will visit the Majdanpek copper mine and Majdanpek gold works this afternoon.

Montenegro

Zhirinovskiy Aide Reassures Serbs of Support

AU2703200194 Podgorica TVCG Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Report by Miloje Drobnjak from Bijelo Polje]

[Text] A rally is taking place in Bijelo Polje, addressed by members of the delegation of the Russian state Duma, led by Aleksandar Vengerovskiy, deputy chairman of the Russian lower house, who is also the deputy president of the Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Several thousand citizens of Bijelo Polje are attending the rally in the rain.

Russia lost its historical allies under Gorbachev. We are therefore here to mend that, to tell you that we will never desert you and forget you, (Vengerovskiy) said. He further said that the Balkans is the Russian zone of interest and influence, and that no Turkish or NATO presence will be allowed here. He added: Your enemies are our enemies. No new world order will be established so long as it is aimed against the nation that is fighting for its freedom, as is the case with the Serbian people.

Vengerovskiy further said: We are here to help you. We want to socialize and trade with you. Russia will again be the market for your products. Russia is today swamped with poor quality goods from Turkey and Syria, but we can remember with fondness your good quality clothes, shoes, and foodstuffs.

To shouts from the audience of "Russia, Serbia!," Vengerovskiy said that the Mediterranean Sea is a Slav sea, and that Russian ships, not U.S. ones, would sail in it. Other members of the delegation of the Russian state Duma addressed the rally, as did the leaders of the Serbian National Renewal, who organized the visit by the Russian parliamentarians.

Kosovo

TANJUG Reports on Rugova's U.S. Visit

LD2503142494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Pristina, 25 March (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK] and self-proclaimed president of the so-called "republic of Kosovo," today described his visit to the United States as an "important visit."

At a news conference he failed to comment at length on the activities of his "prime minister" Bujar Bukosi in Washington, where this man had requested support from U.S. officials for separatist demands for the secession of Kosovo and Metohija from Serbia, but stressed that

these activities were "within the framework of regular visits to and contacts with the United States."

The DSK president welcomed the Belgian foreign minister's visit to Tirana, dubbing as "press speculations" hints that Willy Claes would convey to Albanian President Sali Berisha the European Union's stance on the inviolability of borders and its position that Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] Albanians can seek a solution only within the context of autonomy.

Not ruling out the possibility that Claes and Berisha could examine all options for resolving the Kosmet issue, Rugova declared that, as "president of Kosovo," a title he had bestowed upon himself, he would take into account the will of the Albanians expressed at the referendum.

This, he said, means "an independent and neutral Kosovo" which, in his view, is "a compromise solution acceptable to both Albanians and Serbs."

He described the Yugoslav Government's decision not to allow foreign missions in Kosovo as "confirmation of a stubborn and damaging policy pursued by the Serbian authorities."

Speaking about the German authorities' intention to deport several thousand Yugoslav refugees, mostly Albanians, Rugova said that he had received official assurances that this would be done "as painlessly as possible," but he failed to elaborate on what this meant.

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Autonomy Prospects

AU2403204594 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, by Imre Sebestyen; place and date not given: "The VMDK Does Not Deal With the Issue of Border Modification"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Sebestyen] What is your opinion of the division within the leadership of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] and the confrontation?

[Agoston] There have been different views within the VMDK from the very beginning. VMDK Deputy Chairman Sandor Hodi's political position has been the same from the very beginning: He starts from the premise that a new settlement will take place in this part of Europe and that a border modification is a realistic possibility within this new settlement. Thus, for him, the implementation of the autonomy concept is the minimum that the Serbian leadership should give us because the organized political opposition of the Vojvodina Hungarians and the international support the Hungarians receive in this forces the Serbs to do that. Dialogue and the daily political cooperation of coexisting people are not a necessary part of that concept. It does not count on the principle of partnership based on political subjectivity; instead, it counts on the fact that, as a result of favorable international circumstances, the Serbs will get into a subordinate position. Naturally, that political philosophy only covers the block Hungarians. Given the fact that it circumvents the issue of coexistence of people living in this area—first of all the coexistence of Serbs and Hungarians—the concept is abstract and unrealistic. As opposed to that—and in my opinion this political philosophy still has greater support within the VMDK—another line emerges as more realistic. The essence of it is that in the current situation, the issue of border modification should not be included in the political activity of the VMDK. We do not want to live in subjugation, but we know that we have to live in peace with the others in this region, first of all with the Serbs. The Hungarians here must be guaranteed a constitutional and legal framework in which they can preserve their identity, survive, and remain here without a border modification. This legal framework is the autonomy concept of the VMDK. The legality and democratic support make it possible for the VMDK to act as a political partner in settling the common affairs of the Hungarians living in the Carpathina basin. Our common goal is to make sure that Hungary becomes a member of the European Union as soon as possible and that the Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders can implement their autonomy efforts. The results achieved so far prove that there is no politically relevant alternative to that idea. On the other side, of course, there is the danger that the so-called reformer politicians who are also increasingly forced into the background within the VMDK might gain ground. The essence of their efforts is that they are ready to give up not only the independence and political legality of the VMDK but also Hungarian autonomy in exchange for Serbian concessions adequate to their individual or group interests. [passage omitted]